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HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS

THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS
DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR CONTRI-
BUTION TO WORLD BETTERMENT

BY

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*To the Student Bodies
at Yale University, at Washburn College
and in Correspondence Instruction
with whom these studies found
their form and substance*

FOREWORD

This volume seeks to make clear the important place of the Hebrew people in the history of nations and to justify the selection of their history, as set forth in the Old Testament, as an introduction to the even wider range of universal history.

Many thoughtful people of today, old and young alike, take little or no interest in the Bible or in the fascinating history which it records. The reason is largely to be found in the fact that they failed in their formative years to become acquainted with the Bible in its true values, its attractiveness and its practical power. There seems to be a place for a compact, comprehensive outline of Biblical history and literature, simple enough in its expression and execution to hold the attention of the growing mind, and yet complete enough to meet the reasonable needs of any mind. This new edition omits none of the characteristics approved by an earlier generation of students of the Old Testament. It permits some readjustments to include data unknown even fifteen years ago and presents a new and more helpful method of approach to the Old Testament itself. It seeks to draw the attention of the student to the Bible itself rather than to the author's comments, and to enable a student to lay a proper basis for its independent study. Such a basis must be the Old Testament as it stands. Until each book or section, as commonly known, is in mind, no student is prepared to grasp or to weigh critical theories regarding it. Its chronological position, its character as literature and its special contribution to the great theme of the Bible will then become significant.

Hebrew history and literature is a theme of great importance to the one who would really know his Bible. It can be mastered rapidly. Too much time is given, as a rule, to details of relatively slight consequence to the exclusion of those which have far-reaching importance. This volume aims to indicate a proper balance of attention. It also seeks to enable the student to get rapidly to the heart of the subject and to view it from all essential standpoints, that of universal history, that of the

development of the Hebrews, that of the growth of religious ideas as mirrored in the Old Testament, and that of permanent and personal values. The supreme defect of the religious thinking of the average man or woman of today is its narrowness. Every religiously minded person needs to be familiar with the whole Bible and with the Bible as a whole. This knowledge need not be reserved for ministers or scholars. It may be the possession of any thoughtful student of religion.

The writer has aimed to produce a useful book. It does not profess to be a contribution to original scholarship. The only originality that is feasible in a work of this sort is that of method. The results of others in this field have been drawn upon with the utmost freedom. To make constant acknowledgment of obligation has not seemed necessary or practicable. The references given in Appendix I in connection with each numbered paragraph afford the clue to most of such special sources of information. Appreciative thanks are due to the colleagues and friends in North America, England and the Continent upon whose results in Biblical scholarship the writer has drawn so freely.

The volume should enable a teacher to cover the whole range of Old Testament history and literature down to the Maccabean Age, after 200 B.C., when the New Testament era definitely began, in a year of two or three weekly recitations. To make it a complete survey of Hebrew and Jewish life and thought, a section has been added which outlines the history and the literature of the next three and one-half centuries until 135 A.D., the date of the absolute termination of the history of the Jewish people as a people.

The two important problems of the educational world today are the preservation of the natural relationship between religion and education and the impartation of right ideals and ambitions. These will always require the teaching of history from the beginning in terms of religious experience and the teaching of religion with a full recognition of its historical development. It is hoped that this volume may help to solve these problems, not alone by introducing the student to the rich historical and literary values of the Old Testament, but by kindling his enthusiasm for its noble ideals and by adding to his appreciation of its record of the historical development of the religion of the spirit.

F. K. S.

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INTRODUCTORY STUDIES

HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS

INTRODUCTORY STUDIES

I

REASONS FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

(1) **The Hebrews an Ancient and Modern People.** The Hebrew people, whose early history is chiefly recorded in the Bible, are a very ancient and a very modern people. Known today as Jews, they are to be found wherever enterprise, shrewdness and capacity reap rewards. They are citizens of many different nations, while remaining true to their ancestral faith. No other people can be mentioned whose continuous history has been equally long and fruitful. The Chinese or the Hindus are just as ancient, and perhaps far more so, but their existence as peoples has meant far less to the rest of the active world. The Hebrews, or Jews, have held a truly important place in history since a very early period.

(2) **Their History Parallels that of Many Nations.** One who studies the history of the Hebrew people has occasion to touch that of many other ancient nations, which have risen, flourished, influenced the world, and finally disappeared. When the Hebrews were growing into an organized people during the second millennium before Christ, the Babylonians were the teachers and rulers of the greater part of Western Asia and the Egyptians were their only real rivals. The Hittites had already become a memory. While the Hebrew monarchies opposed each other, Phoenicia on the west and Aram on the north were alternately friendly and hostile to them. Assyria reduced all these nations to obedience or absorbed them into her vast empire, which flourished for three centuries, until about 600 B.C. Assyria gave way to the brief but powerful Chaldean empire of Nebuchadrezzar and his succes-

sors, which, in turn, was supplanted within a century by the Persian overlordship of Cyrus and his successors. The Persian empire, after lasting for two centuries, gave place to the Greek empire of Alexander the Great and his generals, which, in its turn, succumbed to universal Roman rule during the century preceding the Christian era. While all these nations were coming into leadership, flourishing, and becoming decadent, the Hebrew nation was growing, sometimes in numbers and importance, steadily in a knowledge of the world and in culture, but especially in its appreciation of God in His relations with that great world. Its history furnishes an historical link which binds together all this long sequence of empires and points out the permanent contribution of each to the world's history.

(3) **Their Significance Religious.** The most important contribution made by the Hebrew nation to the world was its interpretation of religion. More clearly than any other known people in the centuries preceding the Christian era the Hebrews thought of God as a moral Being, a Character, the Father of mankind, who rules the world in righteousness and wishes to have it pervaded by goodness and friendliness. Three great religions, Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity, grew out of the religious convictions of the Hebrew race. One who studies its history thoughtfully is really receiving a sound training in religious thinking and reviewing the most important era in the history of religion.

II

THE OLD TESTAMENT THE PRINCIPAL SOURCEBOOK FOR THIS STUDY

(4) **The Old Testament Tells a Story of the Ancient World.** The student of ancient history as interpreted through the experiences and ideals of the Hebrew nation turns to the Old Testament to find the facts which he must consider. These facts do not always lie on the surface of the narrative, requiring only a careful reading of

it, for the Old Testament is much more than an historical record. It is a unique collection, as we shall soon see, of records of various forms, each of which must be interpreted in its own way. Some of these records are historical in character, others are poetical productions, still others embody addresses or essays or stories. Some of them can be dated with considerable accuracy; others embody material of different eras. But the patient student will find that, taken together, they tell a fascinating and important story of the growth of the ancient world, politically, socially and religiously, for many centuries.

(5) **It Covers More than a Millennium.** The Old Testament follows this story of growth rather closely for nearly a thousand years, the very period during which, after the decline in power of the two great world empires, Babylonia and Egypt, which had held all Western Asia under their control for undetermined centuries, there arose one ambitious candidate for supreme authority after another, challenging all peoples to new ideals and achievements. The Old Testament records this progress in fairly close detail after the twelfth century before Christ. It also includes traditions of a history much earlier than that, a period of preparation concerning which few details are, or ever can be, given, but which give the historical student a clue to the character and purpose of the race.

(6) **It is a Sifted Record.** The Old Testament is all the more valuable as a record of this ancient history because its statement of facts has undergone repeated revision. Its historical narratives, as we now have them, represent the contributions of century after century of earnest-minded historians. They center upon the data which trace the upward growth of mankind into a comprehension of God and His relations with men. They emphasize, on the whole, the facts which men must take into account in reaching a just verdict upon past history.

(7) **It Deals with History as an Expression of a Divine Plan.** The Old Testament, notwithstanding its variety of writings, has a very real unity which expresses itself on every page. As a whole, it is a plea for the recognition

of the place of God in the universe, supreme in power, but also in goodness, wisdom and good will to men. It interprets all history as developing in accordance with His beneficent planning and as working out toward a perfect goal. Some of our best historians, such as the late Professor Fiske, have not hesitated to declare that their own comprehension of an orderly universe, developing under a master mind, growing steadily better, was given them by the Bible. These historians are the very ones who make the history of today so full of inspiration to every reader. They have caught the great, unifying idea which filled the minds of the leaders and thinkers of the gifted Hebrew race and made their review of history a "Bible" instead of a mere survey of facts.

III

THE VALUE OF ITS STUDY FOR THE STUDENT OF GENERAL HISTORY

(8) **It Helps to Realize the True Value of Historical Study.** The Old Testament, used as a source of the facts of ancient history, offers several real advantages. First of all, it enables the student to realize the greatest value of historical study. Such a study, conducted merely for the collecting and classification of facts, is barren and unprofitable. To be truly fruitful it must have a religious and social, as well as an historical purpose. One studies history better to understand the world he lives in, to acquaint himself with the achievements of men and with their mistakes, to catch the ideals of the best and greatest and to avoid the errors of the unworthy. History is not the satisfaction of curiosity, but the equipment for intelligent, efficient serviceableness to one's own generation. The Bible is pervaded by the idea that the world we live in is God's world, with a wise, heavenly Father at the center of it; and that the best and most important result of reviewing what has happened in the past is the ability to direct our energies in co-operation with His friendly

plans. The study of history ought to inspire students with generous ideals of active and responsible citizenship, with sincere ambitions for sane, strong leadership, with convictions regarding national policies, and the power to distinguish between that which is merely clever and that which is fine and noble. No history surpasses that of the Hebrew people in its power to transmit and impress such results as these.

(9) It Shows Certain Stages in the Religious Growth of the World. Another outstanding advantage of the use of the Old Testament in historical study is its exhibition of the gradual way in which the world was prepared to welcome and appropriate Christianity as the final stage of religious revelation. The Old Testament tells the story of the religious growth of the Hebrew people. It is the history of the rapid passing of this unusually gifted people from a primitive to an advanced stage of religious experience. At the beginning of their existence as a people they held in common with other nations many imperfect ideas regarding God and the proper methods of worship. Before making Canaan their home they were desert wanderers, like the Bedouin of today. Many of the outstanding features of their religious life at that time are explained by the practices which may be noted today among desert tribesmen. After entering Canaan they adopted many of the religious habits of the peoples round about them. But while other peoples collapsed religiously, adopting the religion of their conquerors, or maintained to the last their distinctive religious customs, the Hebrews entered upon a steady upward growth which did not cease until they had, under the leadership of prophets and thinkers, attained a religious maturity and insight which enabled them to teach the world true religious values. The reasons for the difference between the Hebrews and other peoples will be discussed as we proceed with the history. It is not to be explained by their environment or by their heritage, since other nations of their day possessed these same advantages. The Old Testament does not hesitate to explain it in terms of Divine planning and of human

responsiveness. The Hebrews were gifted religiously. Religion was a great reality to them. When they grew politically it was natural that they should grow religiously. Their most valued leaders were those who combined ruling ability with sensitiveness to the will of God. Such a nation God could use on behalf of the world. He trained the Hebrews in the school of life to know Him and His ways with men, so that through them the whole world might come to a clearer realization of God. All human advancement has to be worked out in human experience before it becomes widely available to mankind. The religious attainments of the Hebrews made a world-wide upward trend in religion more possible and natural for the human race. Their ideals, reinterpreted and classified by Jesus and his followers, express most fully the sanest religious thinking of the whole world today.

(10) The Religious Experience of the Hebrew Nation Parallels all Human Religious Experience. The study of history through the Old Testament, following the clue of the growth of the Hebrew nation, has another unique value. Inasmuch as the Hebrews grew slowly from a primitive stage of social development into a cultured, balanced nation, their religious experiences paralleled that of every thoughtful human being in his development from childhood to maturity. Somewhere in these Biblical records everyone, young or old, finds a reflex of his religious attitude and some satisfaction of his religious needs. This accounts for the wonderful helpfulness of the Bible to all honest-minded searchers after truth. It also explains why some portions of the Bible appeal to us more strongly at one time than another, and why some portions appeal to growing minds while other sections have a message only for those of ripened religious experience. A group of writings which embody the maturing religious convictions of a religiously gifted race do not, as a rule, yield their deepest meanings to the casual reader or student. They do offer a lifelong delight and priceless satisfaction to the earnest and thoughtful minds, however brilliant, of every age and race.

IV

THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

(11) **The English Bible Follows the Hebrew Old Testament.** The one who begins to make use of the English Bible as an historical source is almost appalled by its size. There are sixty-six books in the English Bible of today, thirty-nine in the Old Testament, twenty-seven in the New Testament. In recognizing only these thirty-nine books in the Old Testament, we follow the Hebrew Bible. The translators of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek (about 200 B.C.) added fourteen other books, which are recognized today by the Orthodox Greek Church and by the Roman Catholic Church* as properly belonging to the Old Testament. Some of these, such as Second Esdras and Third Maccabees, are really apocalypses which have no special message for these days, but several are genuine religious treasures, such as First Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon. Protestant scholars, while not undervaluing these writings, have preferred to recognize as belonging to the Old Testament only those writings which were accepted by the Hebrews themselves. The others they classify as Apocrypha,† grouping and printing them by themselves.

(12) **The Scribal Grouping of the Books.** It is desirable at the outset to place the books of the Bible under some form of classification. The only grouping referred to in the Bible itself is the threefold division of the scribes, who distinguished the Old Testament as the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms or Writings.‡ (Luke 24: 27, 44; John 1: 45.)

The Law included the books from Genesis to Deuteronomy. The Prophets included the books from Joshua to

* The Council of Trent in 1546 formally declared to be canonical all but the Prayer of Manasses, First and Second Esdras.

† The fourteen books are printed in a convenient edition, by the Oxford University Press.

‡ The third group is first mentioned clearly in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, written about 130 B.C. The exact phrase is "the law, the prophets and the rest of the books."

Second Kings, except Ruth; and from Isaiah to Malachi, except Daniel and Lamentations. The Writings included the remainder of the thirty-nine books. This grouping, it is generally believed today, represents the three stages by which the Old Testament became recognized as a Bible. It is not in any true sense a classification, and is therefore of little importance to the student (§ 494).

(13) **A Literary Classification.** One who wishes to make a helpful study of the Old Testament must deal with it as a literature of varying dates and types. The most valuable classification will be one which is strictly literary. Such a classification, covering the whole Bible, follows:

Historical Books: Genesis, Exodus,* Numbers,* Deuteronomy,* Joshua, Judges, I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, II Kings, I Chronicles, II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Acts; in all, fifteen.

Prophetical Books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; in all, fourteen.

Lyrical Books: Psalms, Song of Solomon, Lamentations; in all, three.

Stories: Ruth, Esther, Jonah; in all, three.

Legal Books: Exodus,* Leviticus, Numbers,* Deuteronomy;* in all, four.

Apocalyptical Writings: Daniel, Revelation; in all, two.

Wisdom Writings: Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, James; in all, four.

Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; in all, four.

Pauline Epistles: Romans, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I Thessalonians, II Thessalonians, I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, Philemon; in all, thirteen.

General Epistles: Hebrews, I Peter, II Peter, I John, II John, III John, Jude; in all, seven.

Any classification which deals with each Biblical book as a unit is superficial. The real student will eventually make a better one of his own.

*These books are partly historical, partly legal.

(14) **The Present Arrangement of Books Due to the Greek Translators.** The present method of arranging the books in the printed Bible was first adopted by the Greek translators in the third century before Christ. With some modifications it was preserved in the Latin Bibles of 400 A.D., and later. The arrangement of the English Bible is that of the Latin Bible, the Apocrypha being omitted.

There is very little, if any, significance in the order in which the books are arranged in the English Old Testament. Until the second or third century B.C., probably no one ever thought of putting all of the books of the Old Testament into one volume. Each book or group of books was in the form of an easily carried roll of manuscript. The first five books formed one roll; Joshua and Judges with the books of Samuel and Kings another; Daniel, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah another; The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther another; Psalms, Proverbs and Job another; and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve the sixth and last. In grouping the books within these rolls they may have been arranged in the order of size or with reference to a similarity of ideas. The historical books were, of course, arranged so as to give approximately a continuous account of Hebrew history.

(15) **A Knowledge of the Date and Character of Each Book Important.** It is important that a student of Hebrew history should be able to place each Biblical book in its historical setting and to know its general classification. Only thus does it fit into an historical period and enable the student to compare the ideas and achievements of one period with those of another. The readiness with which this can be done is the real test of the student's comprehension of Hebrew history as an important part of the record of the growing world. The true order, date and character of the various books of the Old Testament will be made clear during the ensuing study of the history.

V

HOW THE BIBLE CAME INTO BEING

(16) **The Bible a Literature.** The Bible is best defined as a literature. Technically the Old Testament is a collection of Hebrew literature, but to call it merely that is to lose sight of its essential significance. A more satisfying definition would describe it as a collection of books of many sorts, prepared by members of the Hebrew race, through whom God interpreted to mankind His real nature and will with such clearness, breadth and permanence that these writings make a universal appeal. The Bible embodies on the one hand a great religious purpose; on the other, it is a real literature.

(17) **Its Response to the Five Tests.** As a literature, the Bible responds to the great tests to which any literature must conform. It represents many centuries of thinking and interpretation; its books are of the choicest quality; it utilizes every form of expression natural to the human mind; it deals with the profoundest problems of human experience; it sets forth commanding ideals. Whatever gives to recognized literatures their hold upon the permanent regard of men will be found to be characteristic of the Bible.

(18) **Its Historical Range.** The Bible represents or describes the events of history for more than two thousand years, including the first century or so of the Christian era. The period during which it was actually taking form was about one thousand years. Of this period nine centuries were necessary for the gradual appearance of the Old Testament, and a little over one century for that of the New Testament.

(19) **The Varied Origin of the Existing Books.** The books of the Bible came into being in much the same fashion as the writings of any great and permanently valuable literature. Some of its writings, like the prophecies of Amos or Haggai or the letter of Paul to Philemon, represent the utterances of a short period or one single

incident, and may have been put into written form without much delay. But such books as the Psalter or Proverbs represent collections which were in the making for centuries. Other books, like the histories, represent works which grew into their present form by degrees. The books of First and Second Samuel well illustrate this process. They went through at least three stages of development. The first stage was when the events which they describe were being enacted by the men and women with whose names we are familiar. David and Goliath, Saul and Jonathan were living men. The second stage was when stories were told or written about David, Samuel, Saul and others, which became known in every household. Later still, some one used these stories, and such records as were available to him, as the basis for a history of the whole period, a history which interpreted the age and revealed God's share in shaping it. This history could not have been written down by Samuel or David or by any one of those who took part in the events. It is not a diary, but a survey. The books of Samuel were probably put into the form with which we are familiar several hundred years after Samuel the prophet and Jonathan and David lived. They are reliable records, however, since they embody those well-known stories which grew out of the life in which those actors shared, and gave it vivid portrayal.

The natural desire to know the responsible author of a writing containing a message which appeals to the reader is one the Bible quite often fails to satisfy. However certain we may be that Moses was the most important factor in the early history of the Hebrew race, and however much he may have contributed to the records which are found in the first five books of the Old Testament, he cannot have been the one who put all these varied records into the impressive unity of the Pentateuch. The historical books are anonymous. The rabbinical scholars declared that Samuel wrote Judges, Ruth and the two books of Samuel. It is perfectly clear to a competent scholar of today that their judgments were without any real foundation or value. The prophet Samuel cannot by any

possibility have been the responsible author of the books which bear his name. Nor could he have written either Judges or Ruth. The reasons for such a statement as this will be given later on, but they are convincing. The Bible is not, in the main, the work of individual writers who may be identified. We may know well many of those whose writings are preserved, such as Nehemiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the prophets in the Old Testament and Mark, Luke, John, Paul, James and Peter in the New Testament. Such definitely personal contributions represent, however, only a small portion of the Scriptures; and, almost without exception, their own contributions have been edited by others, and so form part of the writings familiar to us. Authorship counted for little in the ancient oriental world before the days of Greek culture.

(20) **Their Real Element of Value.** The fact that a Biblical book may have passed through more than one stage during its preparation does not impair its historicity but increases it; nor does an inability to name its author detract from its value. The great significance of these writings lies in their essential accuracy and their inspirational value. The most convincing proofs of their unusual value arise from their quality and from the impression they make. They speak to the heart of humanity and thus carry their own convincingness with them. As the Westminster Confession so nobly says, they authenticate themselves to the reader.

VI

THE ANCIENT BIBLICAL WORLD

(21) **The Old Testament World.** The world of the Old Testament is that part of the earth's surface which we know today as Western Asia, increased by the land of greater Egypt and by Asia Minor. Its working boundaries were the Mediterranean regions on the west, the great mountain ranges, now known as Armenia, on the north, the Zagros Mountains on the east, and Arabia or the

Indian Ocean on the south. Until the days of Greek conquest in the fourth century, B.C., the minds of men scarcely ran in imagination much beyond these boundaries. The tenth chapter of Genesis, which recounts the nations known to the Hebrews in their brilliant days, goes as far westward as Greece and Crete, but otherwise confines itself within the limits just named.

(22) **Its Two Great Nations.** During the thousand years preceding 1200 B.C., while the Hebrews were coming into being as a recognizable people, two great nations monopolized the habitable portions of the Old Testament world, Babylonia and Egypt.* Babylonia was the wonderfully fertile country watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, stretching from a point where these rivers converge to the shores of the Persian Gulf. Egypt was the equally fertile strip of land wrested from the desert by the Nile. Each had its natural outlet toward the north. They were separated by the great Arabian desert. These two nations originated and disseminated the culture of the second, third and fourth millenniums before Christ. The habitable lands between them bordered the great river and mountain systems. A glance at the map of this ancient world shows that this habitable country, the natural route of caravans and travelers, made an ox-bow shaped territory, the points of the bow resting at Babylonia and Egypt, respectively. Many ancient inscriptions indicate that this intermediate territory was ruled from earliest times down to about the days of Joshua and David by one or both of these two great powers.

The Hittites were their powerful rivals during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Some scholars think that the Amorites formed for many centuries a third great rival empire. Babylonia and Egypt, however, were outstandingly and permanently influential and usually in control.

(23) **Ancient Babylonia a Very Early Civilization.** The spade of the archaeologist and the skill of the linguist

* See the upper map facing page 48.

have made these ancient nations live again. The alluvial Tigris-Euphrates plain is now a marshy expanse almost devoid of inhabitants, but for at least two thousand years previous to the days of Moses, and perhaps much earlier, Babylonia was a fruitful, densely populated, prosperous, well-managed country. Its civilization was far advanced. The people of Babylonia were remarkable farmers, but they likewise developed all kinds of industries, cultivated the arts and literature, opened great trading routes, based their social institutions upon laws carefully enforced, and made many scientific advances.

The full secret of this development we may never know. It seems clear that at a very early date two distinct races took possession of the Euphrates-Tigris valley. One race was a Semitic people, called, in their own inscriptions, "people of Akkad"; the other was a non-Semitic people, known as Sumerians. Which was earlier is uncertain; neither was aboriginal. The Sumerians for a long time controlled the country and they may have been the conquerors of the Akkadians. The two races together were the creators of that remarkable civilization which impressed and moulded the rest of Asia for many centuries.

We hear of principalities existing side by side with the leadership shifting from one city to another or from the southern group to the northern. We know of empires of considerable extent and importance, such as that of Sargon of Agade and his son. Babylonia, however, first became a working unit between 2500 and 2000 B.C., when a great conqueror and statesman, Hammurabi, united these principalities into a permanent empire and made Babylon, his own capital, the recognized center of the empire. Hammurabi was a born ruler, a great genius, one who put his stamp upon the world of his day. He is probably the Amraphel of Genesis fourteen. After his dynasty had ruled for several centuries, a new group of invaders, the Kassites, gained control of Babylonia. They adopted the culture of Babylonia and continued the far-reaching influence of the empire. Before they had been long settled, however, the subject province of Asshur on

the upper Tigris revolted and established an independent kingdom. While the Hebrews were in Canaan and Egypt, this new kingdom, generally known as Assyria, was gradually gaining strength and developing ambition. By 1300 B.C. it had become a rival in strength to Babylonia, its motherland.

(24) **Egypt's Equal Importance.** The other prominent and powerful nation of the centuries which antedated the appearance of the Hebrews as a distinct people was Egypt. It may never be determined with entire certainty whether Egypt or Babylonia developed the earlier civilization. It is quite probable that each was fairly independent of the other. They were rivals throughout these early centuries. Egypt developed at a very early period a civilization of a very high order. We know that at the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. Memphis had become the leading city of the land of Egypt. The early rulers of Egypt cared little about the outside world, but were energetic and ambitious in relation to the development of their own country. The fourth dynasty (about 2700 B.C.) was famous for its tremendous building enterprises, such as the pyramids, temples, palaces and tombs.

In Egypt as in Babylonia the twentieth century B.C. was a time of great progress. The twelfth dynasty added much prosperity and happiness to their subjects and developed a powerful kingdom. Curiously enough, Egypt suffered invasion and conquest when Babylonia did. The Kassites of Babylonia are paralleled by the Hyksos of Egypt, conquering Semites from Arabia and Syria. The Hyksos, however, maintained themselves no more than about a century. The great eighteenth dynasty not only regained control of Egypt, but transformed its peace-loving inhabitants into a conquering people, eager for world empire. It is at this period in the history of Egypt that the fortunes of the Hebrews are intermingled with those of the Egyptians.

(25) **Each Nation Helpful to the Hebrews.** To indicate the exact obligation of the Hebrews to either or both of these great nations is impossible. Babylonian culture

pervaded and actuated the Western Asiatic world. From the earliest historical times down to the twelfth century Babylonia had much political influence over those who dwelt in Syria and Palestine.* But both Babylonia and Egypt gave rise to the varied influences toward higher and finer living which the Hebrews absorbed, tested in their own experience, and passed along to the world, interpreted in yet truer and more permanent forms.

VII

THE CENTRAL PLACE OF PALESTINE

(26) **Palestine a Highway, a Watch Tower and a Distributing Center.** Between Babylonia and Egypt, not in a straight line, but by the route of commerce, lay Syria and Palestine. This strategically located strip of country, about four hundred miles long, and from seventy-five to one hundred miles wide, bordered the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The fact that no caravan, army, chariot, or even footman, unless desert-born, could go straight across the desert with safety, but had to go around from Babylonia to Egypt by way of the fords of the upper Euphrates into Syria and so down through Palestine, converted Syria and Palestine into a bridge between the two great centers of civilization and commerce, which every traveler had to cross — a great highway of nations. Palestine has also been called a “watch tower.” From the high hills of Judea the Hebrews could look down upon the passers-by and could easily keep in touch with whatever the world at that day had to say or do. In later times, just as today, Palestine became a point of entry to travelers from the West. Though a little country, it stood at the very center of the world of its day. No place could have been selected for the home of the Hebrew people which would have more advantages for receiving impressions and passing them on.

* These are modern but convenient terms for what the Babylonians called the “Westland.”

VIII

THE HEBREW PEOPLE

(27) **Their Designation.** The people whose remarkable experience we shall study with care are known in the Bible by three names. They are sometimes called Hebrews, more often Israelites, and after the exile to Babylonia in the sixth century, B.C., Jews. The first was their racial name, the second their religious name, and the third was given them by others because their home was the land of Judah. By this last name they are still known.

(28) **Their Racial Origin.** They belonged to the Semitic family of nations. Other members of this same family were the Arabs, who continue to be known as a people down to the present day, and the Babylonians or Assyrians, Phoenicians and Arameans of ancient times. The Semites, as a race, have been distinguished by cleverness, insight, shrewd business qualities, capacity for management, but above all by their religious temperament. The founders of three great world religions were Semites: Jesus, Moses and Muhammad. It was natural that, when God wished to adequately reveal Himself to men, He should choose as His mouthpiece, or agent, a Semitic people.

(29) **Their Distinctiveness.** The Hebrews were fond of calling themselves "a chosen people." They often misunderstood what this meant. They thought that it meant that God had destined them to supreme honor and to great power. What it really meant was that God selected them because of their serviceableness. No higher dignity could have possibly come to them than this recognition of their usefulness.

(30) **The Biblical Story of Their Development.** The story of the history of the Hebrew people, as recorded in the Old Testament, definitely begins with their gradual emergence into history as a group of nomadic clans of which the Jacob family became the best known. They came from the regions of Babylonia and Haran and

eventually located in Canaan. It follows their experiences in Canaan, then in Egypt, and again while becoming established in Canaan. It describes the founding of the Hebrew kingdom under Samuel and David and Solomon, and the separation of this united kingdom into two smaller ones, Israel and Judah, which were alternately in opposition and alliance for more than two centuries, until the northern kingdom came to an end. It shows that this seeming disaster was the occasion of a religious advance of first importance. It then traces the history of the single kingdom of Judah through phases of prosperity and adversity, until its downfall (B.C. 586) and the scattering of the nation into Babylonia, Egypt, and other countries. It reveals the educational value of this new environment. It shows how Cyrus, the king of Persia, permitted the Hebrews to re-occupy their old home in Judea, which had, however, by that time no more than symbolic importance. With the establishment of Judaism under Ezra and Nehemiah (B.C. 444), the story concludes. The next four centuries down to the birth of Christ were full of important events; but their record is not to be found in the Old Testament itself. It is found in parts of the Apocrypha and in Jewish writers like Josephus. The New Testament contains substantially the record of events of the first Christian century. The whole range of Hebrew history, counting from the days of Abraham, was over two thousand years. We cannot be very sure regarding the exact dating of events which occurred prior to the time of Solomon, that is, about 1000 B.C.

THE CHILDHOOD
OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

(31) The history of the Hebrew people really begins with the crossing of the Jordan River and the conquest and settlement of Canaan as a permanent home. From that time onward, its details are fairly well known. For hundreds of years before the entrance into Canaan, however, the Hebrew people were in the making. Our knowledge of this early period is very scanty. What we do know about it is derived from the first five Biblical books, Genesis to Deuteronomy, and mainly from Genesis and Exodus. This group of books together with the book of Joshua form one great unit of Old Testament literature, the Hexateuch. These six books constitute a repository of all sorts of data, primitive, legendary, ancestral, historical and religious, put together and interpreted by religious leaders who lived centuries later than the date of any of the matters commemorated. Through them can be traced, with reasonable clearness, three important contributing sources: a finely conceived and written prophetic history dating about the ninth century B.C. (§244); another parallel prophetic history of the eighth century (§264); and a priestly history of Israel's sacred institutions (§449) of the fourth century.

The books of Genesis and Exodus contain the historical data which a student must use. They cannot be dealt with as a straightforward history of the early centuries of Hebrew growth. It will be noted that the history, such as it is, takes the form of stories which explain the origin of usages, such as circumcision, and describe great leaders. Such stories represent tradition rather than sifted history. They are fascinating and highly valuable, but chiefly for their portrayal of strong, true character types and for their emphasis on God's share in human affairs.

The student of Hebrew history finds his useful data almost exclusively in the portions of these books which

come from the two prophetic sources. In what follows this will be very evident.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMAN HISTORY (Genesis 1-11)

The true God revealed in His work of creation. Gen. 1:1-2:4a.

The Divine provisions for man's perfect development. 2:4b-25.

Man's deliberate disobedience of the Divine commands and the tragic consequences. 3:1-24.

Cain, his brother's murderer, sentenced to be a perpetual wanderer. 4:1-16.

His descendants, those of Seth and the ten antediluvians. 4:17-5:32.

The flood God's radical cure for persistent sinfulness: its prevalence, the preservation of a righteous group, the new covenant of promise for mankind. 6:1-9:17.

Noah's blessing of Shem, the forefather of all Semitic peoples. 9:18-28.

The nations of the Hebrew world and their relationships. 10.

How different languages came to be spoken. 11:1-9.

The genealogical line from Shem to Abraham. 11:10-26.

(32) In the first eleven chapters of Genesis we find a group of stories which convey the ideas of the Hebrew people concerning the creation of the world, the beginnings of human life, the conditions of primitive humanity, the origin of arts and crafts, the destruction of the whole human race by a flood, the re peopling of the earth, and the distribution of the peoples over the earth. These ideas for the most part they evidently inherited from their Semitic forefathers and adopted without serious question. Such ideas have a proper place in the Bible, not because God wished to make a special revelation concerning such facts, but because through these beliefs of the people, correct ideas regarding God, man, the universe, and their mutual relations could be established. A close and thoughtful reading of the narratives will show that their greatest value lies, not in their anticipation of modern geology, or ethnology, or geography, but in their splendid and fundamental teachings regarding the great ideas at the very basis of religion. They should not be studied as a means of knowing the process of creation. God has enabled mankind to discover and develop the science of geology for that purpose. Nor do they, except in a sym-

bolic way, throw light upon the exact method of man's creation or upon the origin of human occupations. God has given men the opportunity of discovering such facts for themselves. His message to the world through the stories of these eleven chapters was a religious message. To it we will give principal attention.

These chapters, viewed as a literary whole and introduced by the story of God's creative energy (1: 1 to 2: 3) form a very natural and striking introduction to the Bible as a whole. They express in simple yet dignified and impressive fashion the religious ideas which every one must have in mind who reads the Old Testament with intelligent reverence. They explain at once the various factors, Divine and otherwise, which are at work in human history and reveal the continuing purpose of God in its development. Two kinds of narrative are readily distinguishable in these chapters, one quite majestic and formal, illustrated by the first and fifth chapters; the other picturesque and simple, illustrated by the second and third chapters. It is generally agreed that this difference indicates a process of compilation. The author of Genesis 1-11 in its present form probably had before him at least two distinct narratives of the beginnings of the world, which he made into one narrative by arranging in order or by combining the statements he found in them. These earlier narratives were "Bibles before the Bible," to use Dr. Smyth's suggestive phrase,* early attempts to interpret national history, to account for its peculiar institutions and to point out God's definite share in the making of the nation. They will be discussed more fully later on.

1. THE TRUE GOD REVEALED BY HIS WORK OF CREATION. (Gen. 1:1-2:4a)

(33) This introductory chapter of the Old Testament describes God's orderly creation of the inhabited world. Read attentively in the Revised Version of the Old Testament or in one of the recent translations (see Appendix

* *The Bible in the Making*, pp. 83-105.

I), it clearly appears to be a poem in seven stanzas, each closing with the same refrain (vs. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31). It describes an orderly sequence of eight creative acts, culminating in the making of man in the Divine image to use and enjoy all that had been created. Study the sonorous, formal, repetitious phraseology.

(34) **A Poem about God.** This wonderful narrative is really a stately poem about God. It depicts an orderly, gradual process of creation under the guidance of God and in accordance with His will. But God and man, rather than the creative process, are the centers of real interest. The poem shows in dignified fashion how the whole universe finds its explanation in God.

(35) **Its Four Great Ideas.** The three great verses of this poem are the first, the twenty-seventh and the thirty-first, which declare the creative power of God, human likeness to the Divine, and the perfection of God's work. Anyone who understands and accepts them has a good start in religious thinking. Many would add to these, verse twenty-eight, which states man's place in the created universe.

This chapter fitly opens the Bible. It is a religious masterpiece. Its lofty monotheism reflects, however, not a primitive age but the ripest age of prophetic thinking. Some great unknown, centuries after the days of Moses, composed it as a fitting beginning to the story of God's relationship with the universe.

2. THE STORY OF MAN'S CREATION. (Gen. 2:4b-24)

(36) This story begins with the second half of verse four, "In the day that God made earth and heaven, no plant, etc." It answers in the simple, pictorial form used by primitive minds the question of the origin of human life.

Notice the marked change in the narrative style from the stately formalism of chapter 1. This is a vivid story, accounting independently for the creation of human beings (2: 4b-7). Consider how the perfection of man's original condition is indicated (2: 8-15), the means for developing

moral capacity (2: 16, 17) and the provision of real companionship for man (2: 18-24).

(37) **Its Symbolism.** Even today there are those who are anxious to determine the exact location of the Garden of Eden. They emphasize the least important detail of this story. The writer of the Biblical story seems to have located Eden at some spot in Babylonia, which we can no longer identify. This was not strange, since the Hebrews regarded Babylonia as the seat of the most ancient civilization known to them. But the Garden was more a symbol than a geographical location. It meant that God at first gave man every possible advantage for the exercise of his natural capacities and the realization of his deepest needs. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil signifies that man was not designed solely to work or to enjoy himself. He has capacities of moral attainment which must be exercised and tested. True manhood implies the power to distinguish good and evil, to estimate the worth of things and the ability to choose them or refuse them.

Another great need of man was a real companion, his intellectual and social equal. The beautiful story of the creation of woman symbolizes the true relationship of the sexes, the natural dependence of woman upon man, her fitness to share life with him and the wonderful closeness of union in a true marriage.

(38) **A Word Picture.** The picturesqueness of this story is in a strong contrast with the formalism of the one preceding. It is concrete and graphic, impressively told. Verse seven asserts the same relationship of man with God that 1: 27 declares, but in a finer way. It suggests the material and the spiritual sides of man's nature. He has a body, but also an intellectual and moral capacity, given by God, which lifts him into the realm of the Divine.

3. THE SIN OF MAN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. (Gen. 3)

(39) This interesting story, a sequel to the preceding one, tells how man was deliberately disobedient to God

(44) **Its Portraiture of God.** The story of the flood, as told in Genesis, gives the reader a still clearer impression of the character and purposes of God. It conceives of the flood as a special act of Divine power, paralleled only in grandeur by the process of creation. God put forth His power to destroy as well as to create because He wished to stem the tide of humanity's self-destroying wickedness. The apparent act of judgment was really a deed of infinite mercy. It sacrificed some in order that ages might benefit. These ideas are the Biblical writer's interpretation of the old Semitic story of a universal flood, sent by the gods to destroy mankind, from which a godly man and his family were saved, so that they repeopled the earth.

5. THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGES AND RACES. (Gen. 10:1-11:9)

(45) These passages offer a primitive explanation of the varieties of language and nationality, all peoples being accounted for as descendants of Noah and all languages explained as due to their forcible separation.

Notice the direct statements (Gen. 9: 18a, 19; 11: 1). Study the primitive but impressive story of the Tower of Babel (11:2-9). It is a clear example of a folk tale making obviously unscientific yet plausible explanations of the curious facts of human speech and settlement.

(46) **The Charter of Human Unity.** Chapter 10 has been called the charter of human unity. It asserts what no other ancient nation seemed to realize, the brotherhood of the human race and God's interest in all mankind. In form it seems to be an ethnographical statement. A careful study shows that it is a list of the nations known to the Hebrews, arranged mainly on a geographical principle, and aiming to explain their origin and relationship. It omits many nations which were then existing in the world. But the writer was more interested in declaring the fact of kinship than he was in writing an atlas.

(47) **The Real Meaning of the Tower of Babel.** The story of the lofty tower and the ambitious hopes it kindled

is hardly an adequate or accurate explanation of the origin of different languages and the dispersion of peoples. It must be admitted that such explanations satisfied the world until recent centuries. Only the wonderful achievements of modern scientific exploration and investigation have enabled the thinking world to get at the real facts of the world's growth. All languages have much in common and human habits of speech are curiously alike, yet modern research inclines to recognize five or six great families of speech rather than one. The Biblical writer emphasizes the kinship rather than the differences. He suggested that the distribution of mankind into nations and the different languages are factors in His great plan for the development and progress of humanity.

6. THE PECULIAR FITNESS OF THESE NARRATIVES TO SERVE AS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

(48) **Their Religious Value.** Some students of the Bible may be pained by the idea that these splendid narratives are built upon the crude ideas of an unscientific age regarding the world. It may blind them to the real value of the narratives and to their important teachings. The one who searches for scientific or historical facts may be disappointed by their meagerness, but the one who is looking for religious foundations will be deeply impressed. These chapters lay a clear, ample basis for a comprehension of the rest of the Bible. Their outstanding ideas are impressively true. The sovereignty of God, His power and purpose, His watchful attitude toward the world He has made, His grace and goodness, man's unique likeness to God, his moral responsibility, his place in God's universe, his sinfulness and its consequences, his necessary struggle with evil, his hope of victory over it — such ideas as these make the history of God's relationship to the world intelligible.

(49) **Their Pedagogical Fitness.** That the Biblical writer put his great religious ideas in this fashion bears eloquent testimony to his wisdom as a teacher. He used familiar forms in emphasizing important ideas. The

stories of Creation, of Eden, of Noah and of Shinar, which were in the mouths of the people, were utilized as vehicles of statements which declare the character, power and purposes of God, the full nature of man and his place in the universe, the unity of the human race and the other great ideas which underlie all Biblical thinking. No method could have been devised to convey these conceptions with greater directness and force. Whatever there is of obscurity in the narratives comes from the nature of the traditions; these primary religious ideas are perfectly clear.

(50) **Survey Questions.** Formulate the idea of God which these early stories convey to your mind. What place in the universe do they assign to mankind? What do they regard as man's greatest need? What do they declare to be His best achievement? According to them, what is God's plan for the world? Assuming that the theory of divinely guided evolution is the true explanation of human social development, is there anything in these chapters which contradicts it? Why should the Hebrew people have been selected to serve God's purpose?

II

THE GRADUAL EMERGENCE OF THE HEBREW CLANS INTO HISTORY. APPROXIMATELY 2000-1200 B.C. (Genesis 12-50)

(51) The remaining chapters of the book of Genesis describe a period of nearly a thousand years in length during which the tribes and peoples who in due time coalesced into the Hebrew nation were undergoing varied experiences. Research seems to indicate that the actual facts were more complex than the connected story of patriarchal life given in these chapters would suggest. The Hebrews were a mixed race, not merely the descendants of one single ancestor. Their annalists, among whom a second prophetic historian is henceforth recognized by scholars, put into the picturesque form of these fascinating stories their recognition of the tribal movements which resulted in their emergence into history, of the Divine and human ideals which guided this historical development,

and of the types of character which led and moulded it. These stories they delighted to rehearse, as people always love to dwell upon the virtues of the ancestors who laid the foundations of their national character. Such narratives contain historical material, but only the trained interpreter can determine exactly what they convey. It is clear that the Hebrews as a race were children of the desert. Probably they were a part of that great migration of desert peoples into the more habitable and fertile regions of western Asia, which took place in the middle centuries of the second millennium before Christ. They recognized a direct kinship with the Aramean peoples; they also claimed Babylonian descent. The exact proportions of their ancestral blood it is impossible now to determine. Of more importance is the implied claim that the Hebrew heritage was of the best. A desert-bred people may have choice leadership.

This desert heritage accounted for three important facts which need to be understood as underlying all Hebrew beginnings. When first appearing in history as a recognized human group, the Hebrews were nomads, wandering folk, dwellers in tents, loving broad ranges. They were at this time organized by clans or families, each very independent, the clan, not the individual, being their unit of society. Their religious life was very simple. Exodus 6:3 recognizes this fact. Their religious life, like that of all nomads, resembled that of a child; it was imaginative, simple, direct, unreflective. It could be devout, yet it expressed itself in very simple forms of worship, in reverence for sacred places and objects and in memorials of Divine manifestations (Gen. 28:16, 18-22).

We may be very grateful that the prophetic historians put the traditions of these formative centuries into a form so strongly personalized. The patriarchs may have been idealized even to a large extent, but, even so, through the loving pen of the patriot we reach sound ideals of racial character and purpose. Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph embody in rich detail the qualities which gave the Hebrews a working place in God's world.

1. STORIES REGARDING ABRAHAM, THE PIONEER, AND MAN OF STURDY FAITH. (Gen. 11:10-25:10)

The migration of Abraham, the Semite, to Canaan. Gen. 11:27-12:9.

His great-heartedness in dealing with Lot, his kinsman. 13:1-18.

His prowess and dignity. 14.

His covenants with God. 15, 17.

The strengthening of Abraham's faith in God's justice. 18; 19:1-14,
24-28.

How Abraham met the supreme test of loyalty to God. 21:1-8; 22:
1-19.

His purchase of a burial place. 23.

The finding of Rebekah for his son Isaac. 24.

The other lines of descent from Abraham. 16; 21:9-21; 25:1-18.

(52) These fifteen chapters contain a long series of interesting and instructive narratives about Abraham and his people. They are inimitable sketches, literary masterpieces, many of them, such as the stories of Abraham's departure (12:1-8), of his dealings with Lot (13:1-18), of the blood covenant (15:1-20), of the visit of the angels (18), of the sacrifice of Isaac (22:1-19), of the bargaining with the Hittites (23), and the wooing of Rebekah (24). The student has to be on his guard lest the very vividness of the narratives cause him to interpret them as the history of one single small family rather than as the origins of a race. They describe the adventures, not of three or four people, but of hundreds. Yet they focus attention on the great leader, his fine character, his attitude toward God and what he stood for in history. Each narrative is almost like a sermon and may best be interpreted individually.

(1) THE CALL OF ABRAHAM AND HIS RESPONSE. (Gen. 11:10-12:9)

(53) These verses declare Abraham's origin, genealogy and early home, and indicate why he departed, and whither and with whom he journeyed. They connect him and his descendants with the Semitic group of peoples and place his origin in old Babylonia and in Harran. Note the three great promises made to him (12:2, 3), those who accompanied him (11:31; 12:4, 5), his appearance in Canaan (12:6, 8) and his religious spirit (12:7, 8).

(54) **A Tribal Movement.** Picture this movement as that of a group of tribes of which Abraham had become the recognized head. Along with him were relatives, servants, flocks and all sorts of possessions. The progress of such a group must have been very slow. The narrative suggests that years, possibly centuries, elapsed before southern Canaan by way of Harran was reached.

(55) **Abraham's Early Home.** Regarding the early home of Abraham, the record is not wholly clear. Such passages as Joshua 24:2, 3; Deut. 26:5; Gen. 27:43; 24:3, 4, 10, indicate that Harran in Mesopotamia, rather than Ur in Babylonia, was the original home of Abraham. Harran was an important city, a great center of trade, in close touch with Ur, which was five hundred miles, or more, away to the southeast. It is not important to determine this unsettled question of his birthplace, since in either city Abraham would have grown up acquainted with Babylonian civilization. Ur is more in consonance with the Abraham of chapters 14 and 23, the "mighty prince" who is a valued ally of Amorite chieftains; while the naming of Harran fits better into the narratives of the desert chieftain, whose wife kneads the bread while he himself kills the calf with which his guests are entertained. But these two portraits are not really incompatible. They each imply a strong personality. It is fair to presume that Abraham was a man who represented the finer life of his day. His character stood all reasonable tests, although he was clearly a man of forty centuries ago. The more we know about the Babylonia of about 2000 B.C., the greater respect we may cherish for him and his leadership.

(56) **His Motive for Going to Canaan.** The Biblical narrative implies that Abraham was a pioneer in the great task of giving a new expression to religion. Like other great religious reformers, such as the Buddha, Muhammad, or Zoroaster, he probably became oppressed by the soulless idolatry of the religion in which he was born, that of Babylonia. God somehow impressed him deeply with a sense of personal relationship with Him to which he could respond with freedom in no other way than by

making a great venture. It was an irresistible call, although heard, probably, within his soul. He was a true pilgrim in search of religious freedom.

(57) **Canaan not a Wilderness.** He did not reach an unknown or empty country. The road to Canaan had been trodden for centuries by caravans and armies, by embassies and travelers. The whole range of Palestine, as the Babylonian inscriptions and the pictures and inscriptions on Egyptian tombs testify, was, even in those early days, a fairly well-developed land. Semitic invaders, known as Amorites, had displaced the earlier settlers some centuries before and introduced a community civilization of some strength. At the same time, Palestine contained then, as it does down to the present day, much unoccupied land which was open to the occasional visits of any wandering tribe.

(2) ABRAHAM'S GENEROSITY TO LOT.

(Gen. 12:10; 13:1-18)

(58) This section indicates what sort of man Abraham was and why he was worthy of God's blessing. Consider the reason given for the sojourn in Egypt (12:10), the quarrel between the retainers of Abraham and those of Lot (13:5-7) and his generous settlement (13:8, 9), the two promises made to him (13:14-17), and his location in the South (13:18).

(59) **Abraham's Large-Mindedness.** The value of this story lies in the light which it throws upon the fine character of Abraham. Like the narrative of chapter 14, it reveals his disinterested, magnanimous, friendly disposition. Rather than exercise his unquestioned authority to take what he pleased and let Lot have what remained, he permitted his kinsman to choose. Lot acted like a selfish, avaricious, short-sighted man. Although he, with Abraham, had fled away from idolatry, he was willing for the sake of material prosperity and ease of living to settle down again in the very midst of a people far worse than the Babylonians. The contrast is impressive. Abraham

was in fellowship with the unseen. He had nothing in common with such as the men of Sodom.

(60) **His Far-Ranging Future.** Abraham contented himself with the less fertile pastures of the mountainous region of southern Palestine. He may have stood on one of the mountain tops north of Jerusalem, when the promise came to him that sometime his descendants should control all the country as far as his eye could reach. The very fact that he stayed up there in the free, bracing air of the hill country, avoiding the debasing influences of the plain, was one indication of his ultimate supremacy. He was farsighted and clear-headed in his decisions. He did not, like Lot, obey the impulse of the moment, but followed his spiritual judgment. The devotion of such a man to the things of God is significant. It proves him to be one through whom God may achieve His purposes.

(3) THE STRENGTHENING OF ABRAHAM'S FAITH IN GOD'S JUSTICE. (Gen. 18:1-33; 19:1-14, 24-28)

(61) This finely written narrative helps one to understand why Abraham became known as the "Father of the Faithful." He was a natural leader, one who took responsibility for men and was worthy of God's confidence. Just as he pleaded on behalf of Lot, he would have interested himself today in the sad lot of toilers in great cities, and in other important social problems.

The primitive elements in these beautiful traditions come out clearly in this graphic prophetic story. Angelic beings and then God Himself (18: 22, 33) pay Abraham, the desert chieftain, a call (18:1-8). They promise him a son (18:9-15), and then Abraham bargains with God over the fate of doomed Sodom (18:16-33). It is a fine, imaginative way of declaring that God was closely guiding His servant and that they were in close companionship.

(62) **Abraham's Hospitality and Tender-Heartedness.** Travelers tell us that Abraham's hospitality exactly matched that of an Arab sheikh today. Abraham received his guests with all the courtesies of a generous, high-minded, self-respecting chieftain. The importance

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and exhibited the best traditions of friendship with God. His portraiture reflects in many details the age in which he lived; he was a desert chieftain of the highest class; along broad lines he set an ideal for all time. He exhibited the power of a life in fellowship with God. The story of his life is not without its shadows, but that fact only emphasizes its reality.

2. STORIES REGARDING JACOB, THE CLEVER AND CRAFTY, WHO DEVELOPED INTO ISRAEL, THE CONSECRATED. (Gen. 24; 25:19-35:29)

The two sons of Isaac and Rebekah: Esau, the rude, thoughtless hunter; Jacob, the gentle, crafty, but farsighted home-dweller. Gen. 25: 19-34.

How Rebekah and Jacob obtained for Jacob by fraud the patriarchal blessing and the outcome. 27: 1-45.

Jacob's vision of God at Bethel and his vow of faithful service. 28: 1-5, 10-22.

How Jacob married Leah and Rachel in Haran and became wealthy by matching his cunning against that of their father. 29: 1-30: 43.

His eager return to Canaan, his homeland, having made a covenant of peace with Laban, his father-in-law. 31: 1-55.

His scheme for satisfying Esau's revengefulness. 32: 3-21; 33.

His moral transformation at the Jabbok. 32: 22-32.

The new Jacob in whose heart religion became a great reality. 35.

(68) The stories which tell of the fortunes of Jacob are compelling in the interest they excite and remarkable as sketches of character. The real Jacob stands out clearly. The reader feels that he exhibited the strength and the weakness of his race with wonderful fidelity. The details are so circumstantial that they seem to compel the student to trace the origin of the whole Hebrew commonwealth to Jacob as its ancestor. The Bible itself, however, gives many indications that the Hebrews were, in part, at least, a mixed race, growing by adoption as well as by natural descent. It has been conjectured that the children of the concubines of Jacob were intended to represent these semi-foreign additions to the nation. This view assumes that in the writer's day they were legitimate Israelites. He therefore indicated their adoption into the Hebrew family by calling them sons of Jacob, but not rating them as descendants of Jacob's legitimate wives. To determine what the writers of Genesis meant is often very difficult

for minds accustomed to the straightforward, prosaic statements of a western writer. All the members of a tribe are known as the "children" of the tribal head. This causes some perplexity regarding blood relationships. Such incertitude as to the writer's real meaning, however, does not throw suspicion upon the underlying facts, as he gives them to us. The Hebrew people certainly began to exist at about this time. We can trace them in history a few centuries later. The picture of patriarchal nomadic conditions, of the steady increase in prosperity and importance of the tribal groups, and of an eventual transfer to Egypt because of famine is in accord with probable facts. They required some such leadership as that of the patriarchs. If the Bible did not contain the records of such forefathers as Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, it would be necessary to infer their existence to account for the Hebrews, as we find them later in Egypt. It is entirely proper, therefore, to study these vivid sketches for the principal purpose of gaining a vivid impression of the personalities which they portray.

(1) THE SONS OF ISAAC AND REBEKAH.

(Gen. 24; 25:19-34)

(69) This section tells the romantic and beautiful story of the wooing of Rebekah, her marriage with Isaac, and the birth of the twin sons, who were such contrasts.

This prose poem emphasizes the importance of the transaction whereby Abraham's heir won a suitable wife. Each detail is interesting — the solemn oath taken by the trusted servant (24: 1-9), how he knew Rebekah (24: 10-28), his unanswerable appeal (24: 29-49), the betrothal (24: 50-53) and return to Isaac (24: 54-67). Note, further, her two sons, so different (25:20-26), and how Jacob secured the birthright (25: 27-34).

(70) **The Value of the Story.** The story of the wooing of Rebekah is a literary masterpiece. Its sketch of the faithful, trusted steward, of the modest, brave, beautiful maiden and of the peace-loving husband is inimitable. It is almost like a drama, each successive scene standing out

with vividness. It has much archaeological value, also, in its mention of early marriage customs, of the organization of the patriarch's household, and of many social usages. Religiously it suggests the providential oversight of God, who directed every detail. Like the stories in chapters 18 and 22, it must have been an often-told story.

(71) **Jacob and Esau.** The contrast between the two brothers embodied that which existed for centuries between the Hebrews and the Edomites, their respective descendants. It was the difference between a people dwelling in settled communities and following the occupations of farming or trade and a nomadic people living by the chase. The former become farsighted, shrewd and careful; the latter live from day to day, governed by the impulses or needs of the moment. The birthright involved two advantages, the headship of the family and a double portion of the inheritance (Deut. 21:15-17). Jacob set great value upon this right; Esau preferred a good dinner. The former was ambitious and persevering, capable of persistence in selfish scheming or in nobler service; the latter, although frank and generous, was shallow and unappreciative of the best things. In the long run God can do more with the former type of men.

(2) JACOB'S UNSCRUPULOUS AMBITION AND ITS OUTCOME.
(Gen. 27:1-45)

(72) This passage exhibits the cleverness and farsightedness of Jacob, and his readiness to gratify his ambition even in a dishonorable way. It also shows Rebekah's unscrupulous ambition and her favoritism. She did not hesitate to frustrate Isaac's dying wish for Esau (27:1-4) by a stratagem (27:5-17). Jacob took his full share of the guilt (27:19, 20, 24). Note what the "blessing" was supposed to involve (27:28, 29). Study the consequences to Esau (27:33-40) and to Jacob (27:41-45).

(73) **The Importance of the Blessing.** The blessing of a dying father was believed by Oriental peoples to exert an important influence over the life of his descendants.

Probably Rebekah and Jacob feared that Jacob might thereby lose the advantage he had already gained by his bargain with Esau. The steps they took to deceive the aged patriarch were wholly discreditable from the standpoint of a modern conscience. Jacob and his mother did not attempt to justify their act.

(74) **The Result of the Deception.** The guilty pair did not remain unpunished. A train of bitter consequences ensued. Jacob's punishment was exile from the family home. He had deprived himself at a stroke of everything on which he set great value. It was the sort of retribution he needed. His scheming mother suffered too. Despite her masterfulness and whole-souled devotion, she never saw the face of her favorite son again.

(3) JACOB, THE FUGITIVE. (Gen. 28:10-29:35)

(75) These chapters show how Jacob was given a sense of Divine companionship and how he reached Harran, where he discovered his kindred and founded a family. They are in sharp contrast with the preceding narrative. The lonely Jacob's dream of his closeness to God (28:10-16), who was still accompanying him, marked a fresh start for the better in his soul (28:17-22). His meeting with Rachel, Leah and Laban should be compared with the beautiful story of the wooing of Rebekah (29).

(76) **Jacob's Vision.** Jacob's vision at Bethel was full of religious meaning. Leaving Beer-sheba must have seemed to him not only a separation from a much loved home, but also from the God of his ancestors. The early Hebrews, roaming the deserts, held probably very simple ideas regarding God. They worshipped Him at places where His presence had been made known to them through some act of deliverance or benefit. They thought of Him as dwelling at such places. Jacob's dream assured him that the God of his fathers was taking an interest in him and would follow him with protecting presence, and bring him back safely.

(77) **The Sanctuary.** Jacob, in accordance with the religious habits of his day, set up the stone which had

served him for a pillow as a memorial of this religious experience. The hill had become a holy place and he wished to keep it so. Whenever afterwards he or his descendants came to Bethel, they worshipped their God there. Such was the origin, as the Hebrew people understood it, of this well-known sanctuary. According to 12:8, however, the spot had already sacred associations. It was, probably, a very ancient sanctuary.

(4) JACOB'S RETURN TO CANAAN. (Gen. 31-35)

(78) These chapters describe the reasons which determined Jacob to return to Canaan, his parting from Laban, his experiences on the way home, and his final settlement at Hebron. They bring out the strange mingling of faithfulness and trickery, of nobleness and meanness, of affection and jealousy, of faith and the lack of it, that characterized him. The change in his character was shown in his determination to return to Canaan, his attitude to Esau, his struggle at the Jabbok and the new name he received on his return (35: 2-4, 10).

(79) **Jacob's Severe Lesson.** Jacob's experience with Laban was just what he needed. Laban treated him precisely as he had treated his brother Esau. Jacob had a good chance to realize the unloveliness of the greedy, ambitious type of character. During twenty years he matched his craft against that of the Aramean and outwitted him, yet the old, peaceful, friendly life at Beer-sheba seemed very enticing. He had had his lesson and was ready to profit by it.

(80) **His Struggle at the Jabbok.** When conscience begins to be awakened, a man may have to go a long way before he is set right in God's sight. Jacob realized the evil he had done to his brother Esau and proposed to make amends. It took a greater struggle for him to become absolutely submissive to God. He had a resolute will and an ambitious heart. The story of the wrestling with God on the banks of the Jabbok puts into vivid, parabolic form the tremendous struggle which the repentant Jacob waged with his lower nature. When it was over, his natu-

ral self had been made powerless; yet through the struggle he had gained a strength which made him morally great. He realized that the weapons, powers, forces in which he had trusted hitherto were of no value in God's presence. He would continue to be resourceful and persevering, but it would be as God's man, Israel.

(81) **The New-Natured Jacob.** The new-natured Jacob is beautifully suggested by the verses in chapter 35, which enlarge upon the impulse of entire faithfulness which came to him and to his family, as they neared Bethel, the goal as the beginning of his wandering, purposing there to acknowledge the gracious God who had brought him all the way. Religion became a great reality, a motive power in Jacob's life. The discipline of trial and suffering mellowed and deepened his character until 48: 15, 16 came naturally from his lips.

(82) **The Tribal History.** These narratives express the belief of the Hebrew nation that Jacob was its immediate ancestor and that the twelve tribes of David's day were the descendants of his twelve sons. It is probable that Jacob's family history should be interpreted racially rather than individually. The classification of his sons as the offspring of various wives would then signify the relative purity of their blood as members of the Israelitish people and their relative importance. The descendants of the favorite wife, Rachel, would be the tribes which claimed the most representative standing, the descendants of Leah being next in importance, while the four children of the slave mothers, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, would be the outlying tribes which contained the largest foreign element and were least closely assimilated with the other Hebrew tribes.* Those who hold this theory do not deny that Jacob was a real ancestor of the Hebrew people. They merely affirm that the peoples or tribes absorbed from time to time by the Hebrews are represented by the children of least recognized standing.

* The Amarna letters and the Merneptah inscription seem to declare that some Hebrews were in northern Canaan as early as the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

3. STORIES OF JOSEPH, THE UPRIGHT, STATESMANLIKE PRESERVER OF HIS PEOPLE. (Gen. 37-50)

Joseph, Jacob's favorite son, sold by his jealous brothers into Egyptian slavery. Gen. 37.

How he came, through his faithfulness, readiness to serve, and ability, to be appointed governor of Egypt by the Pharaoh. 38 41.

His forgiving welcome of his famine-stricken family. 42 1-45 26.

The last days of Jacob and of Joseph in Egypt. 45 27 50 26.

(83) This third group of narratives in the book of Genesis are as sharply individualized as those relating to Abraham and to Jacob. They tell the story of the transfer of at least a considerable portion of the Hebrew clans to Egypt, where Hebrew history really began. The narratives are clearly and simply told, and have a dramatic unity which holds the reader's attention closely and stirs his emotions. Tolstoy declared that they are a model for the story-teller. The moral value of these stories is very great. They uphold sturdy ideals of integrity, trustworthiness, efficiency and faith. The production of such discerning narratives bears high testimony to the culture and breadth of the Hebrew mind. That the early patriarchal traditions took such a form instead of being mere tales of physical perfection or prowess is a first-rate proof of its innate idealism. God showed His unfailing wisdom when He determined to use the Hebrew nation as His agent in the process of revealing Himself to the world. The keenest criticism ever made regarding these chapters was based on their excellence. Joseph seems too perfect a personality. Yet he was the true child of the godly Jacob, whose own portrait is completed with his interview with the Pharaoh (47: 7-10).

(1) JOSEPH SOLD BY HIS BRETHREN INTO EGYPT. (Gen. 37)

(84) This section depicts vividly the trying youth, Joseph, his aged father's favorite, who angered his brothers by his talebearing and by recounting to them his dreams of greatness. Given an opportunity they sold him into Egyptian slavery.

(85) **The Youthful Joseph.** The very youthful Joseph must have been exasperating, to say the least. Undisciplined by contact with the world, he was boastful, thoughtless and egotistical. He needed the experience which came to him in order that he should become his noblest self. To be protected in a happy home from everything disagreeable is a pleasant experience, but not one which develops real greatness of character. On the other hand, the boyish dreams of Joseph evidenced his consciousness of power.

(2) JOSEPH MADE GOVERNOR OF EGYPT.
(Gen. 39:1-41:57; 47:13-26)

(86) This section describes Joseph's dramatic rise to supreme authority by reason of his farsightedness and wisdom, and his prompt use of opportunities to enhance his sovereign's interests.

The steps by which the Pharaoh gained entire confidence in Joseph's integrity and ability are skilfully indicated. Notice his early promotion (39: 1-6), his high sense of honor (39: 7-20), his career as a prisoner (39: 20-23), how the sovereign came to know and trust him (40: 1 to 41: 36), his appointment as governor (41: 41-45), his clever measures of administration (41: 46-57) and the great advantage to the Pharaoh (47: 20-21, 23-25).

(87) **The Pharaoh who Appointed Joseph.** The sudden appointment of a foreign-born slave to unlimited authority over a rich, cultured, proud and powerful people could take place nowhere else than in an autocratically governed Oriental state. Probably it could not have occurred in Egypt except at one of two periods, the century when the Hyksos kings were rulers of Egypt (c. 1680-1580 B.C.) or the later portion of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1580-1350 B.C.) when Egypt under the leadership of a series of conquering kings became a world power, ready to utilize brave, resourceful leadership from any source. The data available do not enable us to determine with assurance under which group of rulers Joseph rose to dignity and accomplished his reforms. If Ramses the

Great of the nineteenth dynasty was the Pharaoh of the oppression (see § 99) it is necessary to choose between the two periods preceding. That Joseph's Pharaoh was a later king of the eighteenth dynasty fits into most of the facts as we know them today, but no one can be positive in the matter. Kings Amen-hotep III and IV (1411-1358 B.C.) held close relations with Asia and her peoples. Their inscriptions mention foreigners who rose in Egypt to great authority. The three hundred clay tablets discovered in 1888 at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt are letters exchanged between foreign kings and vassals and the reigning Pharaoh. In addition to throwing a frank and vivid light upon the life and peoples of Palestine and western Asia in that day, these letters exhibit the tolerant and friendly disposition of the rulers of Egypt. A Joseph might have found a welcome at their court.

(88) **Joseph's Loyalty to Him.** Joseph's use of his position of authority to aggrandize his sovereign master would be criticized by western students of society. The Hebrew writer who gave us this story evidently regarded it as proving Joseph's loyalty. Joseph is credited with a sweeping reform in land tenure, which put the whole country under royal control. The ethics of such a procedure varies with the era and the circumstances. It may have been a salutary measure. Professor Breasted points out that Egypt certainly had become the personal estate of the Pharaoh in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, although he follows Professor Erman in thinking that this condition was the outcome of a policy of confiscation of the lands of the old nobility carried out by Ahmose I, the founder of the dynasty.

(3) JOSEPH'S GENEROUS FORGIVENESS OF HIS BRETHREN
AND WELCOME TO HIS FAMINE-STRICKEN KINDRED.
(Gen. 42:1-45:26)

(89) This section brings the story of Joseph to a climax. It relates how the brothers journeyed to Egypt to buy grain, and were severely tested by Joseph, who at



last disclosed his identity to them, and bade them bring their families to live under his protection in Egypt.

The charm and power of these four chapters as literature are unsurpassed. They should be read as a unit. Follow out the unfolding drama, scene after scene, to the climax in the repentant Judah's moving appeal on behalf of Benjamin, and Joseph's disclosure of his identity (42: 1 to 45: 26).

(90) **Joseph's Generous Kindness.** The dramatic intensity, as well as the literary charm, of these chapters is very marked. The impassioned and persuasive appeal of Judah (44: 18-34) is noteworthy for its eloquence, tenderness, frankness and generous spirit. No wonder that Joseph was overcome by its pathos. He was convinced that his brethren had repented, and his great-hearted affection overflowed all bounds. Dropping every trace of personal resentment, he assured his brethren of his desire to use his resources for their good, and declared that what had happened was a part of God's plan for their people. Such fine magnanimity and real tenderness of heart makes Joseph a remarkable character. He has been interestingly compared with Ulysses, the shrewd, resourceful, bold, God-fearing hero of the Greeks. The Homeric story saw justice triumphant; that of Joseph set forth triumphant mercy.

(4) THE LAST DAYS OF JACOB AND OF JOSEPH IN EGYPT.
(Gen. 45: 27-47: 12; 47: 27-48: 22; 49: 28-50: 26)

(91) This section describes the movement of Jacob and his families to Egypt, their settlement in the border region of Goshen, their prosperity there, the death and burial of Jacob and the fraternal attitude which Joseph maintained as long as he lived.

Note the buoyant spirit in which Jacob and his people started for Egypt (46: 1-7), their friendly reception (47: 1-6), the fine spirit of the aged Jacob (47: 9, 29, 30; 48: 15, 16, 21), his death and burial (47: 28 to 48: 22; 50: 1-13), Joseph's generous attitude (50: 14-21) and his explanation of all that had happened (50: 20).

(92) **The Number of Those who Entered Egypt.** The list of chapter 46 with its total of seventy people seems surprisingly small. It takes account of heads of families only and overlooks the women and dependents. The actual total of people must have been much greater. There is good evidence, however, to be noted later on, that the Hebrews who thus entered Egypt were only a portion, probably a large and surely an important section, of the Hebrew people of later days.

(93) **The Dying Blessing of Jacob.** In its present form the Blessing of Jacob in Genesis forty-nine is a poem of the early days of the kingdom. In David's day the more ancient tradition regarding the patriarch's blessing was cast into this poetical form. The poem makes a striking series of characterizations of the different tribes — the morally unstable Reuben, the socially disorganized Simeon and Levi, the warlike Judah, the ignobly lazy Issachar, the brave Gad and fortunate Asher, the prosperous Joseph and alert little Benjamin. These are the conditions of the days of the developing kingdom. The tribes had varied fortunes. Some prospered, some had great reverses; some became preëminent, a few barely existed. The poem is very valuable as an expression of the "collective consciousness of Israel" on their conduct and destiny.

(94) **The Faith of Jacob and Joseph.** The fine idealism of the narratives continues to the end. The dying Jacob recalled with loyalty the loving care of God for him and his. Joseph saw clearly that God's providence guided the whole sequence of family experiences to a much desired conclusion. Each of these great men passed on to his successors an unclouded faith and a great expectation. Whether the outstanding portraitures of Genesis are historically true or only the reflection of later national ideals, they set a high standard.

(95) **The Archaeological Accuracy of the Joseph Stories.** The substantial accuracy of the Joseph stories has often been noted. What has been discovered in relation to Egypt in late years is in general accord with the

allusions of these narratives to Egyptian usages and institutions. This supports the conclusion that they were put into form at an early date, since the Egypt of Joseph's day differed in many respects from the Egypt of later times. It also emphasizes our sense of reality as we read the stories.

4. THE ANCESTRAL HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS.

(96) A Review of the Patriarchal Narratives (Gen. 12-50).

The Duration of the Period under Consideration. Putting together the chronological hints of the narratives, for example, 12: 4; 17: 1; 25: 7, etc., what would be the time covered by the lives of the four patriarchs? In view of the many centuries really covered by this long period of emergence, are such exact estimates of any real importance?

The Nations Mentioned Other than the Hebrews. What separate peoples are drawn into the history as told in these stories? Which of these were, properly speaking, independent nations?

The Narratives as Literature. In the course of these forty chapters are a large number of choice literary passages. Select the five which seem, on the whole, most striking for literary beauty.

The Narratives Viewed Archaeologically. Many of the passages throw light upon the customs and ideas of the ancient world. Select three such passages.

The Wonderful Portraits. In these chapters twelve different personalities are sketched with vigor and varying detail. Passing over Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, what three portraits would you select as next in order of value?

The Narratives Viewed as History. What sort of historical information could be expected from traditions handed down through many centuries? Try to put into a concise statement the historical information given by these chapters.

The Type of Religious Life Described. Does the erection of altars by various individuals, their performance of sacrifice, the frequent use of symbols and the anthropo-

morphic stories about God's contacts with men indicate primitive religious simplicity or a formal ritual worship.

The Ideals These Narratives Embody. Gather up the inspiring lessons which have been gained during their perusal. What do we find that helps to make better men and women?

Their Interpretation of God and His Ways. Thinking back over the narratives, what do they imply or teach regarding God as a factor in human affairs?

III

THE SOJOURN OF THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT AND THEIR TRIUMPHANT DELIVERANCE THROUGH MOSES.

ABOUT 1200 B.C. (Exodus 1:1-15:21)

The oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt (Exodus 1).

How the infant Moses was adopted by the daughter of the Pharaoh. 2: 1-10.

How in early manhood he championed his own oppressed people. 2: 11-15a.

His flight to Midian and life there in freedom and quiet. 2: 15b-22.

His call by Jehovah to be the deliverer of his people from Egyptian servitude. 3: 1-4: 18.

How Aaron was associated with Moses in the task of deliverance. 4: 27-31.

Their first approach to the Pharaoh with a request for religious privilege. 5: 1-3.

The resultant pitiless oppression of the Hebrews. 5: 4-6: 1.

[The parallel account of data already stated 6: 2-7: 7.]

The series of plagues by which the Egyptians were made willing to let the Hebrews go. 7: 8-10: 20 *passim*.

The repeated and increasingly comprehensive demands for the right to sacrifice as a people. 7: 16; 8: 1, 8, 20, 25-28; 9: 1, 13; 10: 3, 7-11, 24-26.

The plagues which broke the Pharaoh's spirit. 10: 21-29; 11: 4-8; 12: 29-33.

The institution of the Passover as a distinctively Hebrew feast. 12: 1-16, 21-28, 43-49. [12: 17-20.]

The final demonstration of Jehovah's power and the hurried yielding of the Pharaoh and his people. 12: 29-39, [40-42; 12: 50-13: 10.]

The law of the redemption of the first-born. 13: 11-16.

The departure for the desert. 13: 17-22.

Pharaoh's renewed attempt to enforce his will. 14: 1-9.

The wonderful deliverance of the Hebrews. 14: 10-31.

Miriam's song of thanksgiving. 15: 20, 21, 1-11b.

(97) The Biblical story of the servitude into which the Hebrews gradually drifted, and of their wonderful escape into freedom gives very few details of their long stay in the land of Egypt. It establishes the fact that they were

there, a recognized group of people, and that, thereafter, their existence needs no verification. It focusses attention upon Moses, their great leader, on his curiously varied preparation for one of the greatest creative tasks that history has recorded, and on the evident share of God in its accomplishment. The meagerness of information makes it impossible to be certain regarding the "king who knew not Joseph," the exact length of the residence of the children of Jacob in Egypt or the precise conditions under which they lived. All assertions regarding such matters are more or less conjectural. But the marked change in the treatment of the Hebrews by the Egyptians, their resulting desire to escape from the land which had sheltered them so long and their deliverance through Moses are not at all uncertain. These occurrences remain to this day, as they were for ages to the Hebrew people, the crowning illustration of God's unfailing goodness and thoughtful care, voiced not only by prophets, psalmists and sages, but by dispassionate students of world history. The Biblical story of the Exodus maintains the high level of interest found in the narratives of the patriarchs, but shows even more plainly its complex literary origin.

1. THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT. (Exod. 1)

(98) This chapter describes the altered attitude of the ruler of Egypt toward his Hebrew guests, his methods of keeping them from becoming dangerous, and their sufferings. It is a composite of the three source narratives, the priestly narrator furnishing the introduction (1: 1-7, 13, 14), and the two prophetic narratives the rest. Notice the apparent suggestion of the later one (1: 15-22) that two midwives were adequate for all the Hebrews, yet they multiplied so that they were deemed dangerous (1: 12).

(99) **The King "Who Knew Not Joseph."** If the Pharaoh of the Joseph stories (§ 87) was one of the later monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty, the one under whom the fortunes of the Hebrews altered was probably a sovereign of the famous nineteenth dynasty. The change from one dynasty to the other was marked by radical

religious and political changes. The ambitious monarchs of the new era counted the Hebrews as vassals subject to their commands, rather than guests of the nation. The mention of the building of store cities (1:11) and the character of the policy adopted by the king, make fairly probable his identification with Ramses II, the greatest Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, who reigned sixty-seven years, from about 1292 to 1225 B.C. If, as some scholars think, the Pharaoh of Joseph was a Hyksos sovereign (§ 87), the outcome would be a decided lengthening of the time spent by the Hebrews in the desert (§130) and in the settling down in Canaan. In the absence of decisive proofs the student must be open minded.

Ramses II, the fourth sovereign of his dynasty, was a remarkable figure in history. Coming to the throne while young and vigorous, he initiated a policy which sought to recover to Egypt that vast Asiatic empire which had been gained by the warriors of the eighteenth dynasty but lost again by their weak successors. In secure possession of Syria were the Hittites, a non-Semitic people whose records and relics have been found in great numbers, but are still not fully understood. They were formidable fighters and had made themselves masters of all Western Asia north of Kadesh on the Orontes.* For fifteen years Ramses fought them with even honors. He then made a treaty of peace with Khetasar, their king, which left them in possession of Syria and gave him the unquestioned overlordship of Palestine. This treaty was faithfully kept for more than half a century, during which period Ramses gave himself to the promotion of vast building enterprises, of commercial expansion, and of whatever would promote his glory. He was vain and fond of display, but he added greatly to the prestige and power of Egypt. In his day a foreigner of ability was welcomed to Egypt and given every opportunity for distinction. He made large use of mercenary troops and encouraged foreign merchants. His reign was a brilliant one. It had the defect of lasting too long. The king become so old that he ceased to be formi-

* See the lower map facing page 48.

dable or active. His successors had to struggle in order to preserve the Egyptian state.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the long reign of Ramses II, the fortunes of Babylonia and Assyria. While the Kassites were establishing themselves in Babylonia (§ 23) the offshoot colony of Assyria which had settled on the upper Tigris had gained absolute control of that fine territory. This vigorous kingdom bid fair under Tukulti-Ninib (c. 1290-1250 B.C.) to take the Semitic leadership of Western Asia away from Babylonia and to dispute with the Hittites the sovereignty of the "Westland," between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. A successful revival of Babylonian energy put an end to such dreams for over a century. But the Asiatic world had been warned to beware of the young giant whose full strength had yet to be developed.

(100) **The Duration of the Sojourn in Egypt.** The Biblical statements regarding the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt vary between affirming that the period was about four centuries (Gen. 15: 13; Exod. 12: 40) and that it lasted for four generations (Gen. 15: 16, supported by Exod. 6: 16-20). Egyptian records, as far as known, seem rather in favor of the shorter estimate. One hundred and fifty years would be long enough to account for the increase in the number of the people which this chapter records. The longer period is likewise supported by good authorities. Those who hold to it place the Pharaoh of Joseph among the Hyksos, about 1600 B.C. They lengthen correspondingly the duration of the desert sojourn of the Hebrews (§130), and place the Exodus about 1450 or so. (§ 87.)

(101) **The Influence of the Sojourn upon the Hebrews.** Living, as the Hebrews did, near the eastern frontier of Egypt, and maintaining, as they must have done in the main, their earlier traditions and habits, it is probable that on the great mass of the Hebrew people the residence in Egypt had little effect. They certainly kept apart from the Egyptians as a people. Their environment may have given them a taste for the art of

agriculture, and a familiarity with warfare, which stood them afterwards in good stead. The suggestions of the historian Ebers, that their exceptional men, such as Moses and Joshua, would have had a fine opportunity in the Egypt of that day to receive a preparation for leadership, seems quite probable. It is doubtful whether the religious usages of Egypt made much impression upon the Hebrews. Their undeserved sufferings caused by the ambitions and arrogance of the sovereign seem to have partly deadened them and partly united them in a passionate desire for freedom.

2. THE PREPARATION OF MOSES FOR LEADERSHIP. (Exod. 2-4)

(102) This section relates the romantic and beautiful story of the birth of Moses, his nurture in the Egyptian court, his outburst of loyalty to his own people, his long stay in Midian, and reluctant acceptance of the task of giving his people freedom.

The prophetic stories which convey these details live in a reader's memory. They trace the career of the great leader from his adoption as an infant by the princess (2: 3-10) and his brave identification of himself as a young man with his own people (2: 11-14) to his desert flight and residence (2: 15-22), his solemn call to become the deliverer of his people (3: 1-8, 16-18), his hesitancy (3: 11, 13; 4: 1-10), and reassurance (3: 12, 14, 16; 4: 1-12, 15) and his reception in Egypt (4: 29-31).

(103) **The Early Life of Moses.** The second chapter of Exodus is a wonderful story, conveying an ordinary lifetime of incident in a few beautiful phrases. Jewish tradition, as voiced by Stephen in Acts 7: 20-29, dwelt fondly upon the attractiveness of Moses, his mastery of all that Egypt could teach and his efficient leadership. The narrative of Exodus fairly implies these qualities. Moses, as a recognized member of the royal house, must have received a training in statesmanship and general culture far exceeding that of average men. There came a day when he made himself the champion of his oppressed

people. His act was unpremeditated but generous and significant. He definitely yielded all of his luxuries and advantages in order to range himself with his kindred. Thus he exhibited the fine quality of his soul.

(104) **His Life in Midian.** Moses fled out upon the eastern desert to the wandering tribes on the border of Edom, near the eastern arm of the Red Sea. Here he settled down among a people, the Midianites, whose religious traditions were like those of his own forefathers. His surroundings were not uncongenial and his education went right on. In the freedom and quiet of those peaceful years, Moses must have been turning over and over in his mind the deliverance of his people. How and when the opportunity would come he could not know, but his purpose did not change. The wonderful command of every situation which he exhibited later on is only explainable by years of thoughtful planning.

(105) **His New Program.** The story of chapters 3 and 4 lays stress upon three great reasons for the determination of Moses to leave the desert and return to Egypt to champion his people and deliver them. The greatest reason was that he had gained in Midian a fresh vision of God as the holy, friendly One, adequate in power to deal with any situation. It was a very real companionship with God which began on that day at Horeb. But the God who came to mean so much to his own life was also the God of his fathers and must be made known to his people. The second reason was a conviction that the time had come for the execution of his long-pondered plans. The narrative declares incidentally that the old king had died. His successors were weak. Rival pretenders contended for the throne. To a bold and resolute man like Moses, the situation might well have seemed an opportunity which God was summoning him to seize. The third reason was an overwhelming sense of personal responsibility. God made him see his duty, overruling every objection. Great prophetic leaders are fashioned out of such deep spiritual experiences.

(106) **The New Name of God.** The third chapter of Exodus seems to declare that God announced himself to Moses under a new name, full of meaning, one that was not wholly unknown to the Hebrews, since it forms a part of the name of the mother of Moses, Jochebed, and since Moses was able to use it with effect in appealing to his countrymen; but a name that came to his generation with at least new significance. The name somehow betokened an inspiring idea. What that was is not very clear to the casual reader of 3:14. Probably, however, it suggested an active Personality, manifesting Himself in gracious ways, the eternal Providence of His people. The real name was not pronounced with three syllables, Jehovah. Probably it was bi-syllabic, Yahweh, but there is no harm in using the more familiar form, Jehovah, although it is philologically incorrect.*

3. THE DEPARTURE OF THE PEOPLE FROM EGYPT. (Exod. 5:1-12:39)

(107) These chapters tell the vivid story of the appeals of Moses to the Pharaoh; of his adding to the burdens of the Hebrews in reply; of the calamities, one by one, from the pollution of the sacred river to the sudden and terrible pestilence affecting every Egyptian home, which finally convinced the Egyptians that the God of the Hebrews was fighting for His people.

Notice that Moses began with a request which was quite reasonable (5:3) but received from the Pharaoh a haughty response (5:6-9). Then are narrated ten successive plagues which finally broke the spirit of the sovereign and forced an unwilling permission for departure (7-11). Note the details as given (12:7-11) of the celebration of the national festival which was to become the commemoration of the great deliverance (12:1-23) and

* The word Jehovah is really a symbol for the real name of God. The Jewish rabbis deemed that name too sacred to be pronounced publicly. Consequently they gave to the consonants JHVH of the holy name, vowels taken from the Hebrew word which means "Lord," so that whenever a reader came across the sacred name, he would be reminded really to say "Lord."

the haste and urgency with which the departure was speeded (12: 31-35).

(108) **The Three Sources of the Exodus Story.** The careful reader will notice, particularly with chapter 3, a change from the simple directness of the preceding narrative. The story goes on but with more repetition and formal phrasing. The explanation of this is very simple. Throughout these books of the Old Testament, which furnish the historical facts which we are studying, the writer had available as sources three distinct narratives (§ 31). Each of these sources was a complete story of the early history of the Hebrews. One of them, commonly known as "E" (§ 264), began with Abraham; the other two, with creation. The narrative we find in Genesis and Exodus is a compilation from these earlier narratives with largest use made of what is generally regarded as the earliest one. That narrative, for instance, reported among the plagues, the pollution of the Nile, the frogs, the flies, the murrain, the hail, the locusts and the death of the first-born. Another source reported as impressive deeds or "wonders" (7: 9), the turning of Aaron's rod into a serpent, the turning of the Nile into blood, the frogs, the lice and the boils, and probably the darkness and the death of the first-born. These three stories of the deliverance all agreed upon the call and commission of Moses, the series of calamities and their Divine source and the sudden departure of the people at the end of the struggle. Each one of them was so important in its testimony that the writer of the book of Exodus preserved many portions of each narrative, even at the expense of repetition. The historical value of the first six books of the Old Testament is greatly enhanced by the recognition of these underlying earlier narratives, although they often add to the perplexities of the student. These facts emphasize the care with which these books were prepared, and the long range of national thinking which they reproduce.

(109) **The Plagues.** It has been pointed out that the majority of the plagues were events which were always possible in Egypt, remarkable only because of their sever-

ity, and that one would have led to another. The pollution of the water of the Nile would cause swarms of frogs, whose carcasses would breed flies, and so on. If each wonder could be thus accounted for, it would not invalidate the claim of these writers that God thus prepared the way for the deliverance of the Hebrews. So it seemed to the Egyptians and to the Hebrews as well. To their minds God's providential care was very real.

(110) **The Passover Feast.** The Bible is very clear in tracing the origin of the feast of the Passover to the deliverance from Egypt. To make this identification impressive, the writer of Exodus included the Passover law in his historical narrative (12:1-14, 43-50). But there are several passages in this narrative (5:1-3; 7:16; 8:25-30; 10:8-11, 24-26), which declare that the original request of Moses was for permission to go out three days' journey into the desert to acknowledge by solemn sacrifices after the fashion of their forefathers the fealty of the Hebrews to Jehovah, their God. Whatever this proposed national festival may have been, the Passover displaced it as the great annual family festival of the Hebrew race. The night of the Exodus became for all time the birth-night of the people.

(111) **The Number Who Departed.** The variations in the estimates of the number of people who escaped from Egypt raises one of the unsolved puzzles of early history. Such passages as Exod. 1:1-5, 15-20, or Judges 5:8, indicate that the people would be counted by multiples of ten thousand rather than of one hundred thousand. On the other hand, such specific estimates as Exod. 12:37 (compare Num. 1:46; 26:51) imply a total population of two million. If the Hebrews had a fighting force of over half a million men, such statements as Exod. 23:30 or Num. 13:31 are perplexing. The historical probabilities are in favor of the smaller estimate, but the persistence of the larger one is a puzzling fact. The large numbers may possibly be accounted for by the idealizing habit of the priestly writers, from whom they come. These writers treated history in a rather mechanical, unimaginative

THE LAND OF THE EXODUS AND WILDERNESS WANDERING.

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

G R E A T S E A



fashion. They tended to interpret ancient conditions in terms of their own day.

4. THE GREAT DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. (Exod. 13:17-15:21)

(112) This describes the departure of the Hebrews, their pursuit by the Pharaoh and his army, the remarkable escape of the Hebrews and the disaster which overtook their foes. The splendid poem (15: 2-18) is a valuable bit of testimony. Notice that the Hebrews chose the desert route rather than the direct "way of the Philistines" (13: 17, 18) and that they were guided (13:21). The vivid story describes the Pharaoh's change of plan (14: 5-7), the remarkable escape (14: 13, 14, 21), the disaster to the pursuers (14:27, 28) and clearly ascribes the deliverance to Jehovah's aid (14: 30; 15: 1).

(113). **The Highways and Frontier Defenses.** There is reference in the narrative to two great highways, which travelers leaving Egypt were wont to use. The "Way of the Philistines" was the direct and ancient route northward into Canaan and Syria. Here the Hebrews were likely to encounter armed opposition. The other route ran directly east into the desert. Egyptian records show that its traffic was regulated, in the days of Ramses II at least, by a line of garrisoned fortresses from Lake Timsah to the Mediterranean. This was the obvious route for the Hebrews to take, in view of their expressed purpose to go three days' journey into the desert to sacrifice to Jehovah. When they reached the gateway, however, it was closed against them. The Egyptian army behind them seemed to have the fugitives at its mercy. Only Jehovah could help his people in such an emergency, but Moses assured them that He would surely do so.

(114) **The Wonderful Deliverance.** Two accounts of the crossing of the Red Sea are intermingled in chapter 14, one poetical, reflected in the beautiful ode in the next chapter, the other a straightforward narrative. The former emphasizes each stage in the episode as "commanded" by Moses, and pictures the water stand-

ing as a wall on either side, making a lane of dry land through a sea of some depth. (14:29.) The latter declares that a strong east wind blew back the waters of the arm of the sea, so that the Hebrews were able to escape around the usual barriers into the desert, and that, when the Egyptian warriors attempted to do similarly they perished in the returning waters. For such a power of wind over shallow water there are historical analogies. Moreover, the power of God was just as clearly in the providential blowing of the wind as in the creation of upright walls of water. The former account may have arisen from too literal an interpretation of such poetry as 15:8.

(115) **The Leadership of Jehovah.** In a narrative like this, so dear to a religiously minded nation, and intended to acknowledge its indebtedness to Jehovah, the line is sometimes obscure between symbolism and facts. The "pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night" is a good example. Nothing is more characteristic of caravan travel in the desert than the use of a brazier at the end of a long pole, whereby a caravan strung out over the desert may be made aware of the whereabouts of the leader. In this fashion God is said to have led the people. Whether the assertion of Exod. 13:21, 22 is to be understood figuratively or literally is not easily answered. Jehovah's leadership was a real fact in either case.

The Bible is full of beautiful and instructive symbolism, so much so that a reverent student is often puzzled to distinguish between it and plain statements of fact. As in case of a parable, the symbolism centers attention upon the essential idea by putting it in the form of an image readily pictured in the mind. To say that God walked and talked with a man is more impressive than to declare that He is near a man to help him. Both statements point to the same historical fact. One is concrete, the other abstract. To teach a truth, such as the leadership of God at this crisis, by symbols is to make it doubly impressive.

(116) **The Results of the Deliverance.** The escape from Egypt had many consequences, some of them unanticipated, but all important. The authority and influence of Moses over his people were greatly strengthened. All thoughts of a return to their homes in Egypt were abandoned. The popular conviction of the goodness and power of Jehovah, their God, was settled. The people were ready to accept His leadership and protection, and to enter into a solemn covenant of mutual loyalty. They needed at the same time to be spiritualized in their thinking about God and religion. These were the next great steps to be taken in their development as a people.

IV

THE LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS, FROM THE MAKING OF A COVENANT WITH JEHOVAH AT SINAI TO THE DEATH OF MOSES. ABOUT 1200 TO 1150 B.C.

(Exodus to Deuteronomy *passim*)

The march to Sinai. Exodus 15: 22-16: 1; 17: 1; 19: 1-2.

The school of thankful obedience. 16: 2-17: 7.

The solemn blood compact with Jehovah at Sinai. 19: 3-25.

The giving of the sacred ceremonial code, the "Ten Words." 3: 10-28.

The great ethical code. 20: 1-17 (Deuteronomy 5: 6-21).

The joyful construction of the sacred Tent of Meeting as a dwelling place for Jehovah, and its usefulness. 25: 1, 8; 35: 21; 36: 2, 3a, 8a; 33: 7-11.

Jehovah's gracious and wonderful manifestation of His Presence to Moses. 33: 17, 12-16, 19, 18, 20-23; 34: 5-9.

The journey to Kadesh. Deuteronomy 1: 6-8, 19.

The abortive attempt to invade Canaan from the south. Numbers 13, 14; Deuteronomy 1: 20-46.

The judicial organization of the people. Deuteronomy 1: 9-17; Exodus 18.

The refusal of Edom to give a right of way. Numbers 20: 14-21.

The conquest of the Amorites and discomfiture of Amalek. Exodus 17: 8-15; Numbers 21: 21-32; Deuteronomy 2: 24-36.

How Balaam, the seer, hired by Moab to put a curse upon the Hebrews, was forced to follow God's will. Numbers 22: 2-35.

His predictions of Israel's greatness. Numbers 22: 36-24: 25.

The East-Jordan tribes settled yet loyal. Numbers 32.

The last days of Moses. Numbers 27: 12-23; Deuteronomy 31, 32, 34.

(117) The last stage in the childhood of the Hebrew people schedules less than fifty years but its exact duration cannot be determined. The estimate of forty years

(Acts 7:36) is a round number, and really means a period of some length, the exact duration of which is unknown. The solemn covenanting at Mt. Sinai, with the legislation which grew out of the attempt to express the will of God in the regulation of the affairs of His people, occupy the forefront of the narrative of Exodus. Other historical data are relatively few.

Such facts as are recorded are found in the four books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. Of these, Leviticus entirely, Deuteronomy for the most part, and Exodus and Numbers in varying proportions, are filled with legal material. The authors of these books were more interested in accurately preserving the written law than they were in making a full record of the desert life of the Hebrews. A few outstanding facts are all we have on which to build our conception of this period. These have to be discovered here and there.

1. THE MARCH THROUGH THE DESERT TO SINAI-HOREB. (Exod. 15:22-17:16; 19:1, 2)

(118) This section describes the march of the Hebrews through the desert to Mt. Sinai. It brings out clearly the normal perils and privations of such a journey — the dearth of good water (15:22; 17:3), the scarcity of accustomed provisions (16:3), and how, according to national tradition, these needs were fully met (16), the fierce foes who disputed their passage (17:8-15) and their ultimate arrival at the sacred mountain (19:1, 2).

(119) **The Desert Itinerary.** To identify with any certainty at the present time the stations at which the people stopped is an impossible task. The complete list is given in Numbers thirty-three. There are two explanations of the journey. The more common one assumes that Mt. Sinai was situated at the lower end of the peninsula formed by the two arms of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akabah. The line of march would in that case have been almost southward, comparatively near the shore of the Gulf of Suez. Here they would have passed the highly prized mines which were guarded by

Egyptian soldiers. The other explanation is based upon the conviction that Sinai was located in the land of Midian, near Edom, in the Mt. Seir region. (Jud. 5:4, 5; Deut. 33:2.) The line of march in that case would have been eastward straight across the desert, on the very pathway trodden twice already by Moses. There are no means of making an absolute decision between these views, but the latter seems far more likely.

(120) **The Manna and the Quails.** Notwithstanding their possession of flocks and herds and the provisions they took with them, the Hebrews experienced more or less privation because of the lack of sufficient food. They often thought of the good things which grew back in Egypt. (Exod. 16:3; Num. 11:5.) But they came to recognize with devout thankfulness that Jehovah at times of acute distress sent to them what they really needed. The quails and the manna were natural products of the wilderness. God's power was not needed for their creation, but only for their provision in sufficient abundance.

(121) **Sinai-Horeb.** The sacred mountain is called Horeb in Exod. 3:1; 17:6; in Deuteronomy; in I Kings 19:8 and Ps. 106:19. It is even more frequently known as Sinai. The tradition which locates this mountain in the peninsula of Arabia has no known support earlier than the third century of the Christian era. It may have no better basis than the conjecture of a pious monk who enjoyed locating scenes of religious significance. Archaeologists are inclined to favor a location in the Mt. Seir region. These differences of opinion do not affect the historical reality of the mountain or the certainty that near its base the most important event in the history of the Hebrew people took place. The holy mountain wherever it stood was the birthplace of Israel, Jehovah's people.

2. THE YEAR AT THE SACRED MOUNTAIN.

(Exod. 18; 19:2-25; 20; 24; 32-34)

(122) This section describes the events at Sinai, the solemn covenanting in the presence of Jehovah, the ratification by the people of the terms of the covenant, and

the giving of the law. It suggests the awe-inspiring surroundings of the encampment (19: 16-18), the solemnity given to the covenanting between Jehovah and His people (19: 10-25; 20: 18-21), the Ten Words (20: 1-17) and other commands (20: 23-26), the ratification of the covenant (24: 1-8). Note the ideas expressed regarding Jehovah (19: 4-6; 20: 20; 33: 14-16), and the second, ceremonial "Ten Words" (34: 14-27).

(123) **The Four-Fold Record.** No event in history was ever better attested than the stay of the Hebrews at Sinai. The narrative in Exodus is confusing, largely because of the fact that it is made up of extracts from three distinct narratives describing the important occasion. Besides these, a fourth description is found in Deuteronomy. They all agree in declaring that Jehovah made His will known through Moses, that a solemn covenant was established between Jehovah and His people, that they were taught a larger conception of God, and that a body of laws was promulgated to them and accepted by them.

(124) **The Solemn Covenant.** Under the guidance of Moses and amidst the grandly impressive mountain scenery of Sinai, the Hebrew people entered into relations of loyalty, worship and service with Jehovah. They made a blood covenant, the most sacred and inviolable ceremony known to the ancients. In the case of two men this was accomplished by the exchange of blood. As between Jehovah and the people, this exchange was symbolized by sprinkling half of the blood upon the altar and half of it upon the people (24: 6-8), all consenting to the terms of the covenant. Thus in solemn fashion they established an inviolable bond of fealty. Jehovah became their God and they became his people.

(125) **The Ceremonial Decalogue.** The obligations involved in the covenant were formulated in a decalogue of worship which is reported in chapter 34. The loyalty of the people to Jehovah was to be expressed by keeping the regular festivals, by generous gifts for sacrifice from flocks and herds, by Sabbath observance and by care in matters of ritual. They express religious obligations in

terms of the natural religious activities of the Mosaic age. Similar regulations are found, here and there, in the code of social and ceremonial laws, Exod. 20:22 to 23:33, generally known as the "book of the covenant" (24:7) which is generally regarded as the earliest attempt at a codification of Israelitish law.

(126) **The Ethical Decalogue.** An infinitely greater decalogue is the more familiar one of Exod. 20:1-17, and Deut. 5:6-21. It expresses personal rather than national obligations and defines religion in terms of life and action rather than worship. Its standards are so lofty that many scholars think that it belongs to the prophetic age nearly five hundred years later. They also raise the question whether the second and fourth commandments could have been observed by the Hebrews of the time of Moses. But one may well question whether the ideas represented by these and the other commandments could not have been expressed, understood, and, in a reasonable sense, obeyed in the days of Moses. A comparison of the two versions of this decalogue in Exodus and Deuteronomy reveals the fact that both of them are explanatory expansions of the decalogue as it was declared through the great lawgiver. Eliminating the explanations reduces the decalogue in each case to ten terse commandments, each a single sentence.

THOU SHALT HAVE NO OTHER GODS BEFORE ME.

THOU SHALT NOT MAKE FOR THYSELF ANY GRAVEN IMAGE.

THOU SHALT NOT TAKE THE NAME OF THE LORD THY GOD IN VAIN.

REMEMBER THE SABBATH DAY TO KEEP IT HOLY.

HONOR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER.

THOU SHALT NOT KILL.

THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY.

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL.

THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS.

THOU SHALT NOT COVET.

The two decalogues are not opposed to each other but

supplemental. Quite possibly much of the teaching of Moses at Sinai, which must have been phrased in simple, easily comprehensible form, was expressed in grouped declarations. Scholars have found many traces of this habit in the great law codes of Leviticus. The laws are frequently arranged in pentads. It is not unlikely that the habit of counting on the fingers will explain this legal method.

The Jehovah exhibited in these teachings concerning religious and moral obligations was a God who would punish wrongdoing and reward righteousness. He was not to be worshipped by images. He upheld parental authority. He branded theft, murder, impurity, falsity of speech and even covetousness as crimes. He was to be Israel's God and they to be His people. This was a necessary limitation of His range of power and interest. The world was not yet ready, nor were the Hebrews ready, to understand and act upon that ethical monotheism to which the nation gave its glad assent in later days. At Sinai, Jehovah was thought of as a national deity, moving with the nation and sharing its fortunes, while using His power to promote them.

(127) **The Gradual Organization of the People.** Moses was both the interpreter of the Divine will to the people and the judge who applied the Divine standards in a disputed case. (18: 15, 16.) He deputed most of the work of judging to able men to whom he gave authority. (18: 25.) He established the standards; they applied them to daily life.

The remainder of Exodus, all of Leviticus, a portion of Numbers, and most of Deuteronomy purport to describe the regulations which he established, socially, ceremonially and religiously. These books, however, record these laws in their final form, such as it took generations and even centuries of experience to develop.

Including the Covenant code, mentioned above (§125), they comprise three fairly distinct formulations of Hebrew jurisprudence, of which the Covenant code (Exodus 20: 23 to 23: 33) is the simplest. It represents the usages

and standards of the early kingdom. The code of Deuteronomy (Deut. 12-19, 26) is the next in complexity and comprehensiveness. It formulated the legal ideas of the period just before and during the exile. The Levitical code is the all-inclusive one. It is altogether likely that the religious activity of Moses at Sinai was limited to the provision of regular public worship, of a simple sanctuary with its special attendants, and of regulations which ensured justice, sanitation, public health, orderliness and unity. His people were mainly slaves. They needed simple regulations steadily applied. The great leader was fortunate in the men who were available to give him counsel and to execute his commands. The narrative singles out Jethro, Joshua and Aaron for special mention, but indicates that there were many others available. Their task and his was to train the Hebrews into a fair-minded, honest, God-fearing people in whose minds religion of a noble order should have a foremost place. The reality was doubtless far below their ideal, but there was an ideal.

3. THE TRAINING OF THE WILDERNESS. (Num. 10:11-14:45; 20-25)

(128) These narratives describe the departure from Sinai, the ineffectual attempt to go straight into Palestine, the long delay at Kadesh and the final advance to the country east of the river Jordan.

They bring out the ritual of the march, led by the ark (10: 33-36), and the line of march to the oasis of Kadesh (12: 16; 13: 26), and record the first plan to enter Canaan, spies being sent northward (13: 17-20), the unfavorable report of the majority (13: 21-33), and the vain appeal of Joshua and Caleb (16: 1-9). The narrative follows the route from Kadesh to the Jordan (20: 22; 21: 4, 10-20, 33; 22: 1), where the dramatic episode of Balaam's ineffectual opposition was enacted (22-24).

(129) **The Ark and the Tent of Meeting.** Moses understood well the value of sacred symbolism. Jehovah could not be represented by an image, but the ark could be the symbol of His presence with the people. They

needed something which they could see. Its presence secured His presence. Moses invoked it in the morning on the march with the words, "Rise, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered," and at night, when it rested, he said, "Return, Jehovah, to the myriad thousands of Israel." (Num. 10: 35, 36.) The Tent of Meeting (R. V.) or Tabernacle of the Congregation (A. V.) (Exod. 33: 7-11) was the resting place of the ark and the abode of Jehovah, and Joshua was its guardian. Here Moses retired to commune with God. (Exod. 33: 10, 11.)

(130) **Kadesh-Barnea.** According to Deut. 1:2, Kadesh was eleven days' journey from the sacred mountain. It was about fifty miles south of Beer-sheba, a well-known oasis with an abundant water supply. Kadesh became the headquarters of the Israelites during their long stay in the desert. (Num. 20: 1; Deut. 1:46.) The country was less barren than the southern desert, but could only be occupied by a people moving about here and there. The method of life of a large Arab tribe today offers probably the closest analogy to the life of the Hebrews during these years. These years and possibly generations in the desert were of untold value to the fugitives from Egypt. They learned resourcefulness, endurance, skill in warfare, dependence upon Jehovah and above all, a sense of unity, however vague. The length of their stay, as noted in §99, depends upon the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph." No one can be wholly sure of the chronology of this era.

(131) **The Attempt to Enter Canaan from the South.** (Num. 13, 14.) A journey of one hundred miles from Kadesh would place a traveler in the very heart of southern Canaan. Moses is reported to have sent spies to find out whether it was possible to conquer that land. They reported an attractive but well-defended country. In consequence of this report, no advance was made. The people felt themselves inadequate to the task of conquest. Humanly speaking, they were correct in that judgment. The inhabitants of Canaan were accustomed to attacks from the south or the north and prepared to meet them. The long delay not only added to the strength and the

fighting ability of the Hebrews, but caused the great body of them to seek another point of attack, the country east of Jordan. (Num. 22: 1.) Eventually, so many think, the group of tribes which made their home in the South, Judah, Simeon and Levi, made their independent entrance directly from the desert, joined then or later by non-Hebrew clans, Calebites, Kennezzites, Kenites and Jerahmeelites (I Sam. 27: 10; Joshua 15: 13-17; Judges 1: 16-20).

(132) **From Kadesh to the Jordan.** The story of the movements of the tribes which followed Joshua after leaving Kadesh shows that failing to get permission from the Edomites, their kinsmen, to make a short cut through their territory (Num. 20: 14-21) the Hebrews made a long circuit around Edom. They also passed around the country of the Moabites, coming finally to the river Arnon (Deut. 2: 8, 9, 36). Here they came into conflict with the Amorite kingdom of Sihon, which they captured and possessed. The Amorites were a people whose presence in and about Canaan can be traced as far back as 2500 B.C. (§57) and, perhaps, more than a thousand years earlier. They were Semites, but the Hebrews looked upon them as enemies, and evidently their neighbors, the Moabites and Ammonites, gave them no aid. Their fertile territory afforded the Hebrews a desirable stopping place for all and a permanent home for several tribes. After the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews they disappeared from history, probably by extermination or absorption.

(133) **The Predictions of Balaam.** (Num. 22-24.) The Moabites looked with concern upon the settlement of the victorious Hebrews just north of their border. Balak, their king, tried to cripple Israel by having a curse placed upon the people by a famous soothsayer, Balaam. The dramatic element in the story lies in the fact that at each attempt Balaam, "that ambiguous and most interesting pagan" (Smith), actually testified to Israel's advantage, and predicted her future greatness.

4. THE LAST DAYS OF MOSES.

(Num. 27: 12-23; Deut. 31, 32, 34)

(134) This section describes the vision which Moses was given of the coveted land, the appointment of Joshua as leader in his place, his words of farewell and his death.

It pictures the venerable leader as being instructed to choose his successor (Num. 27: 12-23), as having a distant view of the land of Canaan (Deut. 34: 1-4), as selecting Joshua to be the next leader of the people (Deut. 31: 23), as bidding his followers farewell (31: 1-8) and as being secretly buried (34: 5, 6).

(135) **The Character of Moses.** The story of the life of Moses reveals a greatness which places him in the forefront of the world's heroes. Such a man as he was explains the remarkable development of the Hebrews from a people cowed by servitude and with the careless habits of nomads into a conquering people made irresistible by a sense of unity, arising out of a common belief in the guidance of Jehovah. The process of attaining this unity was, as we shall see, a gradual one, but the result was more or less inevitable, because of the foundations given by the great leader to his people. He accounts in part for the great divergence between the Hebrews and the peoples kindred to them.

The casual references of these narratives to Moses are interesting. They exhibit a real manhood. Moses had plenty of spirit. (Exod. 2: 12, 17; 10: 29; 11: 8; Num. 16: 15; 20: 10.) But he was great-souled enough to be self-distrustful in the face of a great task (Exod. 3: 11; 4: 10), unwilling to aggrandize himself at the expense of his people (Exod. 32: 11; Num. 14: 17), and generous in recognizing others (Num. 11: 27-29). He contended successfully with a cowardly and discontented people (Num. 11: 4-6), with disloyal chieftains (Num. 16: 12-15) and with jealous relatives (Num. 12: 2). But his greatest quality was his prophetic faith, which not only sustained his own life, but enabled him to impress his people permanently. Through his teaching they gained an under-

standing of God as a delivering Power with whom they had covenanted and of an obligation to worship Him loyally with gifts and ritual and service to one another. From the very outset, although in simple ways, morality was emphasized as belonging with religion.

(136) **His Significant Place in Israel's History.** If the records of Hebrew history had begun with the entrance of the people into Canaan, a personality like that of Moses would be presupposed by the development they had then attained. Humanly speaking, he was Israel's creator. *As a leader*, he found the people disheartened and untrained, and left them disciplined and inspired by ideals. *As a prophet*, he taught them ideals of social justice, of purity and honor, based on Divine, germinal principles, which contributed to their rapid upward growth, and impressed upon them a fruitful conception of God which was basal to that progress. No wonder a later poem placed Moses in a class with Amos and Isaiah, above the average community prophet (Num. 12:6-8a). *As a lawgiver*, he formulated a scheme of civil, sanitary, and religious jurisprudence which transformed them into a sober, healthy, moral, right-minded people. *As the founder of a religion*, he drew his people into a real loyalty to Jehovah, as their own God, whose character and requirements were such as to stimulate their growth in goodness. It is not strange that Jewish tradition spoke of him in superlatives (Deut. 34:10-12), and loved to refer to him as "Jehovah's servant" (Deut. 34:5) and as "the man of God" (Ezra 3:2; Ps. 90:1). He was a man of his day, subject to its limitations, yet one of the world's great teachers. That his own people required generations to reach the standards he set for them is not a reflection upon Moses.

5. THE NEW ISRAEL

(137) A Review of the Mosaic Period.

The Duration of the Period. Measuring from the death of Joseph, what is the approximate length of the period under review?

Its Great Events. Thinking back over its details, what ten events should be regarded as of first importance?

Its Noteworthy Leaders. More than a dozen people are sketched in the course of these narratives. Leaving out Moses, Joshua or Aaron, who are the next four in importance?

The Nations Mentioned with whom the Hebrews were in Contact. At least seven nations and tribes are recorded as having direct dealings with the Hebrews. Mention four of them.

The Narratives as Literature. Which of the four Biblical books describing this period has the best stories? Which one is a model of oratorical dignity and force? Which one is entirely given over to legal material? Select five passages which, for some good reason, seem beautiful.

The Narratives Viewed Archaeologically. Find three passages which throw light on the manners and customs of the age described.

The Narratives Viewed Religiously. Comparing this half century of Mosaic leadership with the preceding centuries, what advances were made (1) in the conception of God; (2) in relationship with God; and (3) in religious organization?

Their Historical Information. Put into a careful statement the historical information regarding the Hebrews which these books give.

What had been Gained. What three tremendous forward steps had the Hebrew people taken under the leadership of Moses?

THE GROWING AGE OF ISRAEL'S
DEVELOPMENT

THE GROWING AGE OF ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT

From the Crossing of the Jordan to the Disruption of the Newly Organized Kingdom. About 1150 B.C. to 937 B.C. (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I and II Samuel, I Kings 1-11.)

(138) This period of a little over two hundred years witnessed the settlement of the Hebrew tribes in Canaan, their gradual consolidation into three well-defined sections, their final achievement of national organization with a capital, a national consciousness and an outlook, and the brief glory of the kingdom thus established. Roughly speaking, the occupation and mastery of Canaan required one of these two centuries and the development of the kingdom the other. Hebrew tradition allotted 480 years between the exodus and the building of the temple by Solomon (I Kings 6:1). To allow for this length of time, it would be needful to recognize a very long desert sojourn. The records which describe the second century are unsurpassed in the Old Testament for interest or in value. They furnish an adequate picture of the political, social and religious practices and ideals of the Hebrew people in the days of David. The records of the first century contain the facts which the historian needs to know, but present them less effectively. Throughout the six historical books, however, the history continues to be told in personalized fashion. In large measure it is the story of leader after leader, and what he did. The Biblical historians do not hesitate at times to interpret the history of the periods they treat (Judges 2: 11-23), but the most valuable portions of their record are those which incorporate the original stories with the least amount of editorial comment. The idealism which gripped and governed the rudest of the heroes of Israel enables us to understand why they builded so much better than they knew. The rapid ripening of such a personality as David's likewise exhibits the possibilities of the Hebrew

stock. But Gideon, Deborah, Jonathan and Samuel were worthy representatives of its strength.

V

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN AND GRADUAL INCORPORATION
OF THE CANAANITES AND ASSIMILATION OF THEIR
CIVILIZATION BY THE HEBREWS.
ABOUT 1150-1050 B.C.

(Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I Samuel 1-3, 6, 7)

(139) With the crossing of the river Jordan and the conquest of southern and central Canaan, Hebrew history really begins. The overcoming of armed opposition to the settlement of the invaders was a matter of a few years. The consolidation of the Hebrew tribes, their mastery of the whole country, the absorption or disappearance of all hostile elements in the population and the gradual assimilation of much of the new and higher civilization encountered took a long while, at least a century. The chronological estimates of the book of Judges, taken consecutively, imply much more time than one hundred years for this process, but, without doubt, many of the judges were contemporaneous. It is impossible to be very certain about dates in this early period. We can, however, be very sure regarding the general trend of events. The great leaders are Joshua and the "judges" who arose in times of emergency. It is rather unfortunate that they should have been described by that title. They were really natural leaders of the people, who at times of crisis and by common consent assumed command until the danger had been passed. In consequence of their great service to the people they exercised much popular influence as long as they lived. They were not magistrates but men of influence, preparing their countrymen by their prowess and their faith to enter upon a real national life under chosen leaders. Like any pioneering age in history, our North American beginnings not excepted, this early period reflects crudeness, cruelty and crime. It also exhibits enterprise and idealism, which

redeem in some measure the violence and ruthlessness. The men of Israel in these early days must be judged by the most enlightened standards of their age, but such standards were far inferior to those of the time of Christ or of today. The days of true religious idealism were several centuries away.

The most important authority for this early period is the book of Judges, supplemented by the books of Ruth, Joshua and First Samuel 1-3, 6, 7 for many details.

The book of Judges, like those which we have been studying, is the work of more than one writer. It has a *preface* (1:1 to 2:5) designed to explain the condition of affairs at the beginning of the history which the book relates; a *main portion* (2:6 to 16:31) which tells the stories of the judges; and an *appendix* (17 to 21) which describes the origin of the sanctuary at Dan and the outrage at Gibeah. The main portion has an editorial *introduction* (2:6 to 3:6) which sets forth the principles of interpretation illustrated in what follows and makes two deliberate statements which are significant. The Canaanites were not extirpated (2:21 to 3:5), and the Hebrews intermarried with them quite freely (3:5, 6). The remaining chapters (3:7 to 16:31) give seven stirring stories of the hero days when the men of Israel fought for their homes. Each story is set in a sort of framework, best illustrated in case of Othniel (3:7-11), which gives a chronological estimate and interprets the occasion and the nature of the work of each judge. Evidently the one who set the earlier, popular tales about the judge-heroes into this interpretative framework was the real author of the book of Judges. He makes the reader grasp the religious and national significance of these rather local exploits.

The book of Joshua, as already hinted (§31), is a product of postexilic days. Its data must be used by the historian with discrimination. Its editors viewed the disappearance of the Canaanites as a people as a ruthless extermination, whereas it was rather, as the book of Judges shows, a gradual absorption. They explained the Hebrew successes

as due to Divine aid rather than to strategy. These impressions do not quite agree with the data found in Judges and in other histories. Yet these editors in chapters 1-15 made much use of the earlier prophetic narratives of the conquest with their fine portrayal of the bold, resourceful leader, Joshua and his successes. These we use confidently in our study of this period.

(140) **Palestine Considered Geographically.** We have already noted (§26) the strategic location of Palestine in the ancient world. It was a highway of nations and an excellent post of observation and education. But it was to become for centuries the home of the Hebrew people. From the day they entered Palestine, the Hebrews began to develop into the resourceful, patriotic, democratic, thoughtful people who ultimately became able to teach the world about God. The country in which they lived had something to do with this growth.

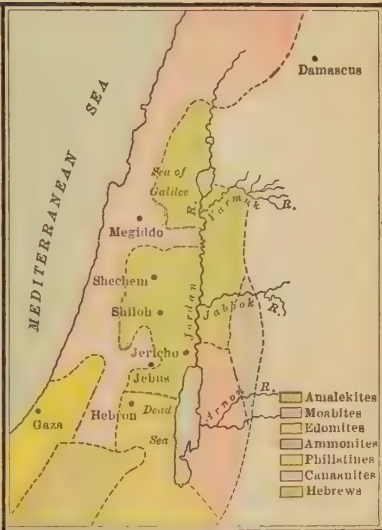
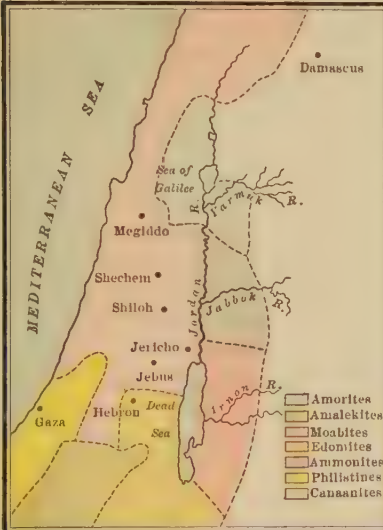
To know Palestine geographically, one must distinguish clearly at least nine details. (1) *The coast plains*, especially of Sharon and Philistia; (2) *The mountainous backbone* of western Palestine, distinguished in the Bible by locality as the "hill-country" of Galilee, Ephraim, or Judah (Joshua 20:7); (3) *The "lowland" (shephelah)* or the foothills between the Philistine plain and the elevated Judean plateau (Joshua 11:16); (4) *The "South" (Negeb, "the dry")*, which is the gradual descent of the Judean plateau into the desert; (5) *The "wilderness,"* the dry, rounded hills on the east of the Judean plateau, descending in three great terraces to the Jordan valley below; (6) *The Jordan valley*, the deep depression known as the *Arabah*, running from Mt. Hermon to the Gulf of Akabah; (7) *The great plateau* of Bashan, Moab and Edom, climbing very abruptly on the western side, but edging off into the desert; (8) *The plain of Esdraelon*, which breaks the continuity of the mountain range of western Palestine, and (9) *Three mountains*, Hermon, Carmel, and Gerizim.*

These closely knit plains, valleys, plateaus, gorges, and

* To gain a true impression of these features consult a relief map. See George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* or Booth's *The Background of the Gospels* (Scribner's, 1928).

PALESTINE at the time of the CONQUEST

PALESTINE after the CONQUEST



PALESTINE under DAVID

THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

mountains afforded, on the one hand, a wonderful variety of climate and product, and fashioned, on the other, many little pockets of land, each capable of supporting a group of people, who were secluded enough to be able to develop in their own individual way. The Rechabites who at the command of their ancestor preserved their desert asceticism for two centuries and a half (Jer. 35: 1-10), were no anomaly. All kinds of people could live and grow in Palestine, side by side. The conditions fostered independence rather than imitation. They explain the slowness of the actual conquest and the long continuance of such foes as the Jebusites at Jerusalem, who maintained their independence until the days of David's kingdom (Judges 1: 21; II Sam. 5: 6, 7).

(141) **The Nations Inhabiting and Surrounding Palestine.** Such passages as Gen. 15: 19-21; Exod. 3: 8, or Joshua 3: 10, suggest that little Palestine was crowded with warlike nations. Of these seven peoples, however, the Hittites were, at the time of the invasion, represented only by small and scattered groups, not very dangerous; the Girgashites, Perizzites and Hivites were, in all probability, small Canaanitish groups; the Jebusites were the inhabitants of Jebus or Jerusalem. The Amorites and Canaanites were either the same people or closely related peoples, representing two successive invasions of the country. Both names are found on the monuments. Practically speaking, the Hebrews had only one formidable people to displace, the Canaanite-Amorite contingent. The Canaanites had entered Canaan some six centuries earlier, the Amorites perhaps four centuries earlier still. They were virtually one people, but they lived in small, separated groups, which were relatively easy to subdue. (§§ 57, 132.)

Round about the country was a chain of kingdoms, large and small. Down on the fertile maritime plain west of Judah, the Philistines had just established themselves. The records of the reign of Ramses III in Egypt declare that among the aggressive hordes from the north which twice threatened to invade and plunder his kingdom and

whose destruction practically wrecked its strength for generations were the Pulista or Peleset (Philistines). They gained a foothold on the coast of Palestine and stayed there. They were a hardy and warlike people and became Israel's most dangerous foe during the early days of national growth.

Further to the north the Phoenician kingdoms were already ancient. The Arameans or Syrians were just in the process of pushing down toward Damascus from the northeast. On the east and southeast were the peoples akin to the Hebrews — the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites.

(142) **Israel's Providential Opportunity.** The student of ancient history realizes that the Hebrew conquest and settlement of Canaan occurred at exactly the right time. Prior to the devastating warfare of the Egyptians with the Hittites, the people of Canaan would have been too powerful for the Hebrew invaders. The movements of the northern hordes down through Syria and Palestine, which broke the power of both Egypt and the Hittites, were also fatal to that of the Canaanites, and made the task of the Hebrews far easier. They established themselves at a time when the defensive power of the land had been reduced to its minimum.

In another way the Hebrew people were very fortunate. No great Asiatic power was in a position for several centuries to deal aggressively with the people of Palestine. Assyria under the great Tiglath-pileser I (about 1120-1090 B.C.) greatly increased her territory and influence. He made his way even to the Phoenician coast, but luckily went no further. His successes made Assyria feared by all other peoples, and secured a peaceful development of his own country. His successors were men of moderate ability. Babylonia was not strong enough to displace Assyria as an Asiatic power, but was just strong enough to dispute her supremacy. Neither nation was able for over two hundred years to assume the role of a world conquering power. Their weakness combined with

that of Egypt and of the Hittites gave to the Arameans and to the Hebrews their chance for development.

1. THE SPEEDY CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

(Joshua 1-12; Judges 1:1-3:6)

The preparations of Joshua, the new Hebrew leader, for the capture of Jericho. Joshua 1, 2.

The crossing of the Jordan by his forces. 3: 1-5: 1.

Their capture of Jericho. 5: 13-6: 27.

The sweeping punishment of Achan and his family for his theft. 7.

The capture of Ai by Joshua. 8.

How the Gibeonites saved themselves by a stratagem. 9.

The defeat of the five allied kings at Bethhoron. 10: 1-27.

The defeat of Jabin and his coalition. 11: 1-15.

Traditions which may reflect early incursions into Canaan. Genesis 34, 38.

Another story of the advance of Judah and Simeon. Judges 1: 1-21.

The capture of Bethel by the Joseph tribes. 1: 22-26.

The many reverses and partial failures of the Hebrew aggressors. 1: 27-36.

The (Deuteronomic editor's) summary of the conquest. Joshua 10: 28-43; 11: 10-23.

The (Deuteronomic editor's) interpretation of the conquest. Judges 2: 6-3: 6.

The (idealized) account of the division and organization of the land and of Joshua's farewell. Joshua 13-24.

(143) This section describes the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua's leadership, the prompt capture of Jericho and Ai, the decisive defeat of the allied kings of the southern country, and the equally successful northern campaign.

The three sources of information tell a common story, but with varying viewpoints. The priestly narratives regard each crisis as surmounted by a miracle; the prophetic narratives recognize more normal methods of warfare and progress as being the Divine method of guidance and support. The strategy of Joshua and his successes make fascinating reading. The stories of the adventurous spies (2), of the fall of Jericho (6), of the capture of Ai (8), of the wiliness of the Gibeonites (9) and the struggle with the Amorite kings (10) are finely told.

(144) **The Crossing of the Jordan and the Fall of Jericho.** These two events were of first importance in

the story of the Hebrew people, almost as much so as the great Deliverance. Hebrew poets and story-tellers loved to recount the thrilling episodes which introduced the acquisition of their national home. God's share in the task was very clear to them. As in the case of the narrative of the Deliverance (§114) the story of the crossing of the Jordan is a combination of more than one earlier account of the event. One of these, apparently the earliest, was relatively straightforward and simple. It represented Joshua as encouraging his people to expect the aid of Jehovah in their emergency, and declared that, at a time when the crossing was unanticipated (3: 15) by the Canaanites and unopposed, something happened far up the river, perhaps a distant landslide, which dammed the river temporarily and left its bed exposed, so that the Israelites got across.* The other narrative greatly magnified Joshua (3: 7, 8; 4: 9, 10, 14) and the part played by the priests and the sacred ark. It also seemed to state that the water of the Jordan stood just above the pathway of Israel, like a wall (3: 16a). The second narrative is no more reverent than the first. It seems to reflect a priestly idealization of the scene. In the story of the capture of Jericho the oldest narrative stated that the little army marched around the city in silence for six days, then captured it with a cheer and a sudden dash. Such tactics agree with Joshua's generalship in other battles (8: 10-21; 10: 9). Whether the sudden collapse of the city walls is to be explained by a divinely ordered earthquake or figuratively, as an expression of the astonishing ease with which it was captured, no one

* The blending of narratives is quite apparent to a careful reader. 3: 17 implies that the people have crossed over; 4: 4, 5 assumes that they are still about to cross. 3: 12 and 4: 2 are obvious duplicates. 4: 9 says that the memorial stones were set up in the middle of the river; 4: 20 declares that they were set up in Gilgal. These narratives agreed on the essential facts, but seem to have varied in details.

To get the oldest narrative underscore with a pencil the following (R.V.), 3: 1, 5, 9, 10a (to "you"), 11, 13, 15a (to "Jordan"), 15c (from "for"), 16 (omitting from "which" to "and"); 4: 1 (last phrase only), 3 (omitting the first phrase to "saying," and from "out" to "firm," 6, 7, 8 (omitting the first phrase to "commanded" and the words from "as" to "Israel"), 10 (last seven words only), 11, 18.

can surely say. The capture of Jericho was followed by its destruction. The way was then wide open for the advance of the Hebrews into western Palestine by either or each of three roads, one leading to the central part of the country, a very difficult one leading quite directly to Jerusalem, and a third which turned to the southwest leading to the center and south of what came to be called Judah.*

(145) **The Conquest of the South.** The first twelve chapters of the book of Joshua must be supplemented by the first chapter of the book of Judges. The latter shows that the swift campaigning of Joshua merely crushed the active and dangerous Canaanitish opposition. Canaan was really won piecemeal. Since it was a country of little cities and towns, very independent and usually hostile to one another, the task of getting an individual foothold was relatively easy for the Hebrew tribesmen. The process of making Palestine the land of the Hebrews was tediously slow. It was in large measure a process of incorporation and assimilation. Such passages as Joshua 10:29-43 or 11:10-23, which declare the merciless slaughter of all the Canaanites, must be regarded as the application by the editor to the whole campaign of what was true here and there. Jericho was "devoted" (6:17) and Ai and Bethel (Judges 1:22-25). Such wholesale slaughter of captives taken in war seemed wholly justifiable to the Hebrews whom Joshua led. They may have practised it wherever possible. But the result was not an extirpation of the Canaanites (Judges 2:23a; 3:3); it was merely the gaining of a foothold in western Palestine.

As indicated before (§ 131) there are reasons for thinking that the southern hill country, afterwards known as Judea, was entered directly from the South. If all the tribes kept together under Joshua then, when the central camp had been established at Gilgal (Joshua 5:10; 9:6) the Hebrews advanced by two lines of invasion, one

* For a map drawn on a scale which shows these roads see George Adam Smith, *Histor. Geog., Holy Land*, Plate IV facing page 167.

toward the southwest into the highlands of Judah, one in a northwesterly direction into the highlands of southern Samaria. The tribes of Judah and Simeon with the Kenites (Jud. 1: 1-20) established themselves in the hill-country south of Jerusalem and gradually extended their possessions southward. In either case, for the next century they were rather isolated from the other tribes by a barrier of uncaptured Canaanitish strongholds from Gezer to Jerusalem, including Gibeon, Ajalon and Shaalbim (Jud. 1: 35).

(146) **The Conquest of the Central and Northern Country.** When Judges 1:22-36 is carefully compared with Joshua 7-12, it is clear that Ephraim and Manasseh (Jud. 1: 22) under Joshua's leadership took the northwesterly road to the central uplands. They captured Ai and Bethel, made a treaty with the Gibeonites, defeated an alliance of Canaanitish kinglets who had combined to punish Gibeon, and pursued the routed army down into the maritime plain. How much more these tribes achieved and what the others did are obscure. Joshua 8:30-35 describes a solemn service held near Shechem, which assumes that central Palestine has been conquered. The eleventh chapter records the defeat at Merom by Joshua of a coalition of northern kings, after which the whole land was at rest. But Judges 1:27 explicitly declares that a second barrier of strong, uncaptured Canaanitish cities, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam and Bethshean, extended across the plain of Esdraelon.* Apparently, therefore, such passages as Joshua 10: 40-42; 11: 16-23; 21: 43-45 and chapter 23 cannot be interpreted with entire literalness. Jehovah's promise stood fulfilled for the man who had the eye of faith to see the fulfilment. The factors were at work which would eventually bring success. Jehovah's purpose for His people was very clear. But for the Hebrews of the later days of Joshua's life there was still very much to be achieved.

(147) **The Work of Joshua.** Joshua was a soldier with a soldier's virtues and weaknesses. He had been

* See map, "Palestine after the Conquest," facing page 80.

the loyal minister of Moses (Josh. 1:1) and inherited some of his strength. (Deut. 34:9; Num. 27:18-23.) On his own account he was resourceful, brave, and straightforward, a keen strategist and good leader. (Josh. 1:10, 11; 2:1.) He scarcely seems to be on a plane with Moses or with David, but he served Israel's interests well in the time of need, and deserves honorable recognition.

(148) **The Entrance into Canaan a Step Upward.** When the Hebrews crossed the Jordan they exchanged desert life for the settled life of farmers. Instead of being herdsmen, ranging the desert, they dwelt in towns and villages, owning land and tilling the soil. Politically, this helped to bind them together more closely; socially, it introduced them to a far more complex and cultured life; religiously, it enriched their worship, emphasizing the share of community, family and individual in it. All this was a great advance over earlier conditions. It has been customary to think of the entrance into Canaan as a step downward religiously. So it was in many respects. As the Hebrews gave up their nomadic habits and became accustomed to the life of Canaan, they tended to adopt the sacred places and many of the religious customs of the Canaanites. They sacrificed on the village "high places" (I Sam. 9:11-14), confused Jehovah with the local Baals of Canaan, made use of the symbolic "pillars" and the "asherah" (Jud. 6:26) and utilized soothsaying and necromancy. Even so, we may maintain that community religion was better than camping religion. The Hebrews were now in circumstances which promoted their rapid advance to higher levels. They remained loyal to Jehovah; they had from time to time leaders who realized what true loyalty meant and they had glorious traditions and sound ideals as a people.

2. THE MIGRATION OF THE DANITES TO THE NORTH. (Judges 17, 18; Josh. 19:40-48; Judges 1:34-36)

The original allotment to the tribe of Dan. Joshua 19: 40-48.

Its inability to remain there. Judges 1: 34-36.

Micah's family shrine. Judges 17.

The migration of the Danites and their seizure of the shrine and its priest.
Judges 18.

(149) This vivid story from the appendix to the book of Judges both explains the history of the location of the Danites in the northernmost part of Canaan, and throws much light upon the rude days immediately following the settlement in Canaan.

It must represent a very early tradition of the history of the founding of the famous sanctuary at Dan. The details are lifelike and instructive. Note Micah's satisfaction over his shrine, when it had been fully equipped (17), how the explorers became acquainted with him (18:1-6), how the migrating tribe carried away both shrine and priest (18:11-26) to the new home (18:7-10, 27-29), where the stolen sanctuary became highly venerated (18:30, 31).

(150) **The Low Standards of a Rude Age.** This narrative helps the student to understand the Hebrews of this early age. They were thoroughly loyal to Jehovah, their God, but committed many evils in His name. They were a crude, ambitious people, eager for settled homes and ready to capture them. From Micah's theft from his mother to the settlement of the Danites by violence at Laish, the series of events broke every higher moral law we recognize today. The Hebrews needed much training and enlightenment before they could in any sense become God's true representatives. The centuries that follow furnished just such training, gradually unifying them.

(151) **The New Sanctuary.** The narrative describes the founding of the famous northern sanctuary at Dan. At first thought the acceptance as a sanctuary by the people of a shrine produced under the conditions so graphically related seems incredible. We must remember that the people of that day showed their loyalty to their

God by having a sacred place and by making regularly certain prescribed or voluntary offerings. The moral element in worship was less clearly emphasized. A mean, cruel or thievish man might regard himself as a very acceptable worshipper if he performed his religious duties at the right time.

3. THE VICTORY OVER THE CANAANITISH COALITION. (Judges 4, 5.)

The appeal of Deborah to Barak to rise up against Sisera. Judges 4: 1-10.

The fierce battle on the plain of Esdraelon. 4: 12-16.

The death of Sisera at the hands of Jael. 4: 17-22.

Deborah's triumphal ode. 5.

(152) These chapters describe, in prose and in poetry, a supreme attempt of the Canaanites to combine to crush the Hebrews and how at the challenge of Deborah the Hebrew tribesmen of central Canaan rallied to Jehovah's standard and won a decisive and significant victory, gained although the distant tribes, Reuben and Gilead, would not leave their flocks, Dan and Asher in the far north were too selfish to help, and Judah, Simeon and Levi in the far south were not expected to coöperate.

The stirring story brings out the leader who rallied the Canaanites for a great struggle (4: 2; 5, 19, 20), Deborah's resolve and activity (4: 4-6; 5: 7), the tribes that volunteered (5: 14, 15, 18), the scene of the conflict (4: 13; 5: 19), the fate of the defeated leader (4: 17-22; 5: 24-27) and the result of it all (4: 24; 5: 31).

(153) **The Song of Deborah** (Judges 5). This vigorous poem is one of the oldest and finest examples of Hebrew poetical genius. It well illustrates the original records out of which such a history as that of the Hebrews at this period was made. It describes dramatically the crisis, the assembling of the tribal warriors, the fierce battle on the plain of Esdraelon, the death of Sisera and the hopeless waiting of his mother for his return, laden with spoil. Three interesting inferences may be made from the poem. (1) That the Hebrews thought of Jehovah as still making his chief abode at Sinai and as coming forth to lead His

people to battle and traveling in the tempest to their aid (5: 4, 5); (2) that some could be stirred to their hearts by an appeal to their sense of unity (5: 13-15a, 18); (3) that their political union had scarcely begun (5: 15b-17).

Both the poem and the prose account give first place to Deborah. In lofty patriotism, good judgment, vigor, and all qualities of leadership, she was worthy of this recognition, a remarkable woman.

(154) **Political and Religious Conditions Reflected by the Song.** To determine what a poet actually means is not easy. But this poem seems to suggest that Jehovah, Israel's God, came from Sinai to lead His people to battle, manifesting His presence by a terrible storm; that the people were rallied with difficulty; that the challenge to prove their loyalty to Jehovah was a successful war cry; and that the victory not only gave the Hebrews ascendancy over their foes, but knit them together more firmly than before. This great contest was really the first step toward the kingdom. Just when it took place is uncertain. Many think that the victory related in Joshua 11: 1-15 occurred still later.

4. THE EXPLOITS OF THE HEBREW HEROES. (Judges 3: 7-16: 31)

Othniel the Kenizzite deliverer. Judges 3: 7-11.

The victory of Ehud, the left-handed Benjamite, over the Moabites. 3: 12-30; and the exploit of Shamgar. 3: 31.

The victory of Deborah and Barak over the Canaanites. 4: 1-22.

Deborah's stirring and patriotic battle ode. 5.

Gideon's great victory over the Midianitish marauders. 6-8.

The abortive reign of Abimelech in Shechem. 9.

Jephthah's campaign against the Ammonites: his fatal vow and its tragic outcome. 10: 6-12: 7.

Minor deliverers. 10: 1-5; 12: 8-15.

The incidental warfare with the Philistines represented by the exploits of Samson. 13-16.

(155) These chapters describe the exploits of thirteen "judges" (if Abimelech is counted), seven of whom are scarcely more than names. The stories about Gideon, Jephthah and Samson are representative.

These stories about Othniel (3: 9), Ehud, the left-handed Benjamite (3: 13-29), Deborah the great-hearted,

resourceful prophetess (4:4 to 5:31a), the intrepid and ingenious Gideon (6:11 to 8:32), Jephthah the outlaw (11:1 to 12:7) and Samson the trickster (13:2 to 16:31) have each been placed in the framework (§ 139) which gives the hero and his work a religious interpretation. The stories are traditional. Their chronology is obscure. The actors, while crude and rough, were loyal to Jehovah.

(156) **Gideon in Central Palestine.** Gideon is the greatest of these heroes. He was a reformer as well as a military leader. Like Deborah, his soul was fired with religious patriotism. He helped to protect his people from the forays of the desert roving Midianites, to which their situation made them liable. Apparently the sacred duty of blood vengeance (8:18-21) served as an immediate reason for his brave deed, but he acted for the tribes. He stands as a type of the resourceful, independent, sturdy men who were ready to defend their new homes against all comers. The defeat he inflicted was so thorough that "the day of Midian" became a current illustration of Jehovah's intervention to save Israel (Isa. 9:4; 10:26; Ps. 83:9-12).

(157) **Jephthah in the East Jordan Country.** Jephthah belonged in Gilead, across the Jordan, where his people were subjected to cruel pressure from the Ammonites. He was a man for the emergency, but otherwise he represented the least progressive among his people. His vow was sincere, but superstitious. No doubt he carried it out literally, as Saul was prepared to do later on. (I Sam. 14:39, 44.)

(158) **Samson in the South.** The story of Samson has little religious value, but gives much insight into the popular life of the time. He is the sort of a hero whom the country people would love. His feats of strength, his tricks, his grim humor and his tragic death are what story-tellers delight to repeat. He was a Nazirite, that is, a man devoted by a special vow to Jehovah's service. The outward signs of his consecration were abstention from wine, keeping the hair uncut and ceremonial purity. Samuel (I Sam. 1:11) was a Nazirite and one who seemed to live in full accordance with the true religious ideal.

Samson performed some brilliant exploits against the Philistines, who were beginning to threaten the Hebrews on the west. But he did all this individually and fitfully. His great powers were unregulated, his exploits were selfish and his life was immoral.

The Samson stories show that the Philistines were growing stronger and more aggressive. They had organized a federated state governed by five "lords" (Jud. 3: 3) and were pushing vigorously east and north.

5. GLIMPSES OF THE FINER LIFE OF THESE RUDE DAYS. (Ruth; I Sam. 1-4: 1a.)

The idyllic story of the adoption of Ruth, the Moabitess, into the tribe of Judah. Ruth 1-4.

The high quality of the parentage and early training of Samuel. I Samuel 1: 1-2: 11.

How Samuel in his youth came to be recognized as a man of God. 2: 12-4: 1a.

(159) These narratives set forth the reverse of the preceding pictures and enable us to understand the rapid advance of the Hebrews. Their picture of the life of the people is, of course, partly idealized. The story of Ruth is an idyll with some genuine basis of fact. Without some such background as these stories supply, neither Samuel nor David, the great leader of the next generation, would be understandable. As literature of charm these chapters are very choice.

(160) **The Story of Ruth.** This beautiful story testifies to its having been written long after the date of the incidents recorded, probably after the exile, when feeling ran high against those of foreign birth, and as an argument for toleration. The fact that Ruth, the Moabitess, was an ancestress of David was a blow to bigotry and narrowness. The social setting of the story gives it great value in emphasizing the finer side of Hebrew life. Probably it reflects that life at its best, like such passages as Ps. 127, 128; Prov. 31: 10-31; Job 29. But if idealized the story testifies to what the historian must assume to be the fact, that a God-fearing, friendly, industrious, happy community life was to be found in early Israel.

(161) **Samuel, Youth and Man.** An equally instructive and beautiful picture is given by the early chapters of First Samuel, recounting the birth and early career of Samuel. The quality of the mother of Samuel explains his own greatness and suggests the important share of the godly women of the Hebrew race in its uplift. His contact as a boy with the venerable and godly, though weak-willed, Eli and his duties at the sanctuary, made him a sober-minded, clear-thinking, promising lad, a sharp contrast to the self-seeking sons of Eli. In I Sam. 7, 8 he is portrayed as a "judge" who delivered and ruled the people and protested against their desire for a king. It is not easy to fit this (later) conception of his place in that generation to what follows.

6. THE ISRAEL OF 1050 B.C.

(162) **A Survey at the Close of the Judges Period.** *Viewed geographically.* The Hebrews had become well established in their permanent homes, mainly on the hills. They were in four rather distinct sections. A little wedge of Canaanitish cities still intervened (§ 145) between the southern tribes, Judah and Simeon, and the central tribes, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh. The plain of Esdraelon divided the central tribes from those in the north, Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher and Dan.* The cities which had once made a hostile zone of defense (§ 146) had been captured or weakened, yet the plain remained a natural barrier. The fourth group, Reuben and Gad, or Gilead, occupied the country east of Jordan. This four-fold distinction continued as long as the Hebrews did. In New Testament times the divisions were called Judah, Samaria, Galilee and Perea.

Viewed politically. The attacks by Moab, Edom and Ammon had ceased, but the Philistines had begun to show their strength and aggressiveness. The Hebrews were very democratic and hesitated to acknowledge one permanent leader. They showed, however, that they

* For these details see the map facing page 80.

cherished a sense of unity and could get together when they had to do so.

Viewed socially. The change from a wilderness wandering, pastoral life to a highly developed agricultural environment opened a new and enticing world of experience to the Hebrew. The influence of Canaanitish civilization was very strong and not, by any means, entirely objectionable. The people of Canaan represented a higher stage of social efficiency.

Viewed religiously. This century prepared the way for progress, but showed very little of it. Jehovah was the God of Israel and the people were loyal to Him, but they recognized the existence of the gods of other peoples, too (Judges 11: 21-24). The Ark, which symbolized His presence, was kept with every token of reverence in a sanctuary at Shiloh in charge of a priest of dignified standing. There were other sanctuaries at Dan (Judges 18:30), Ophrah (8:27), Mizpah (11:11), Gilgal and Bethel. Regular sacrifices, feasts and special vows were a part of the religious life. Probably the most representative Hebrews practised a simple family religion (I Sam. 1: 3, 4, 9-18, 22, 24-28; 2: 18-20; 9: 14, 22-24; 20: 6, 29), which was an active, healthy moral force. To the bulk of the still rather primitive people the cults of Canaan were very attractive. With the absorption of the large body of Canaanites a conflict arose, which endured five hundred years, between the ethical faith established through Moses and the degenerate elements in Canaanitish religion. Jehovah triumphed over the local gods of Canaan, just as the Hebrews over the Canaanites, by absorbing their attributes, activities, sacred objects, holy places, altars, feasts and traditions. This mixture of worship proved costly.

VI

THE CENTURY OF RAPID NATIONALIZATION, ESTABLISHING
JERUSALEM AS A POLITICAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL
AND RELIGIOUS CENTER.

1050-937 B.C.

(I Samuel 4-I Kings 2)

(163) The century or more which includes the careers of Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon was in some respects the most brilliant period of Israel's life. The record of its events describes the gradual organization of the independent groups of people into a real nation, mainly under the resistless leadership of David, and the brief glory of the empire he established. The story of the age is told in the finest series of historical sketches in the whole Bible, crowded with incident, character portrayal and surveys. The date of the beginning of the period is only relatively certain; the date of its conclusion is supported by independent chronological data.

(164) **The Books of Samuel.** These two books were originally one. They tell a connected story about Samuel, Saul and David, which concludes with I Kings 2. They reflect the finest standards of Hebrew history writing, but have gone through a literary editing comparable to that of Judges or the Hexateuch. The responsible author of these books, whose name no one will ever know, was a man of prophetic spirit, who preached to his countrymen, the Hebrews of the seventh century probably, (see §§ 310, 326, 369) through these historical details. His real theme was the share of Jehovah in the founding of the kingdom. He devoutly believed in the Providential guidance of the whole movement, and wrote the history to give his countrymen a similar conviction. It seems probable that he had before him as sources not only such original material as the Song of the Bow from the book of Jashar (II Sam. 1: 17-27) or the official summaries of the royal recorder (II Sam. 8: 15-18), but more than one collection in written form of stories about Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon. From this wealth of material, which

was interesting and varied, he produced a straightforward, convincing and fascinating story of the rapid unification of the Hebrews under the masterly leadership of Samuel and David. To this original volume was added at some later time, the chapters (I Sam. 7; 8; 10: 17-27; 12) which reflect the idea that Samuel, the influential judge of all Israel, objected strongly to the monarchy as being essentially an act of rebellion (II Sam. 7 and perhaps I Sam. 2: 27-36). Finally the appendix to II Samuel, some of it early, some late (*e.g.* 22; 23: 1-7) was inserted. These two books are thus the product of a long literary history (§ 19). The author's habit of quoting from his sources makes the books a source-collection of great value to the student of the events, personalities, religious ideas and religious growth of the days of the kingdom.

1. THE INAUGURATION OF THE KINGDOM UNDER SAMUEL. (I Sam. 4-14)

The successful campaign of the Philistines against the Hebrews of the central highlands. I Samuel 4: 1b-7: 3.

A late tradition that Samuel threw off this yoke. 7: 3-17.

The eagerness of the Hebrews for a king and Samuel's warning. 8.

How Samuel found Saul and consecrated him to the kingly office. 9: 1-10: 16.

How Saul's fitness for the leadership of the people became manifest, so that he was crowned king at Gilgal. 10: 17-11: 15.

A late interpretation of Samuel's attitude. 12.

Saul's successful campaign against the Philistines. 13: 1-14: 46.

His aggressive early reign. 14: 47-52.

(165) As Samuel grew to manhood he commanded the confidence of his people. They recognized him as a real "man of God," a seer, a spiritual counsellor. He became somehow one who linked patriotism with religious loyalty to Jehovah. Thus he was able to render the supreme service of his life, the inauguration of the kingdom. How this came about is not wholly clear to the historian. There are two strands of narrative in these chapters, one an early, clear and consistent story, which represents the kingdom as a gracious gift of Jehovah for the blessing of his people, Samuel, at Jehovah's command, anointing

Saul as the first king (9:16). This early narrative (9:1 to 10:16; 11; 13; 14) begins abruptly with the introduction of Saul and recognizes Samuel as an influential local prophet and patriot of Ephraim. The much later narrative (7:3 to 8:22; 10:17-27; 12) represents Samuel as the recognized "judge" of all Israel, a man of supreme authority, who thought that the desire for a king was a rejection of Jehovah, and furthered it with reluctance. The two points of view were skilfully knit into one narrative by the author of the books of Samuel, but they are not readily reconcilable in all details. The outstanding and certain fact is that Samuel was the link which bound together the period of the judges and that of the monarchy. With some such recognition and authority as a "judge" had, he was able to launch Israel's first king on his strange career.

(1) THE HUMILIATION OF THE HEBREWS BY THEIR
PHILISTINE NEIGHBORS.

[(I Sam. 4:1-7:2; 13:3-6, 16-23)]

(166) These chapters recount the war with the Philistines which resulted in Israel's defeat and the capture of the Ark, the adventures of the Ark and the severity of the Philistine yoke. They picture vividly the blind confidence of the Hebrews in the presence of the Ark (4:3-5), the valor of the Philistines (4:6-10), the shock of the defeat to the aged priest, Eli (4:11-22), the misfortunes which accompanied the captured Ark (5), its honored return to Hebrew soil (6:1 to 7:3), and, finally, the tokens of an oppression of the Hebrews by the Philistines which lasted some time (10:5; 13:3, 19, 22).

(167) **The Philistines.** This strong people lived in the maritime plain from the days of Joshua until at least the sixth century B.C. They had come over the sea, probably from Crete (Amos 9:7; Jer. 47:4), and were, according to the records of Ramses III of the twentieth dynasty, a part of the northern horde which nearly conquered Egypt. Five strong Philistine cities each ruled by a "lord" formed

a confederacy, effective for defense or offense. The Philistines were an enterprising, energetic people, sure to come, sooner or later, into conflict with the Hebrews (§ 141). Their location on the great trade route gave them economic strength, while the strong walls of their cities enabled them to defy the attacks of the Hebrew clansmen, and their organization made them formidable enemies.

(168) **The Capture of the Ark.** There was no marked inequality between the Hebrews and the Philistines. The latter were better organized and led, hence they defeated the Hebrews, notwithstanding the heartening presence of the Ark. Carrying the captured Ark in triumph to Ashdod was the Philistines' method of celebrating the victory over the Hebrews and their Jehovah. The pestilence which attacked the Philistines they interpreted as Jehovah's answer to this desecration, and they hastened to restore the Ark to its own land, with every mark of honor.

(169) **The Philistine Conquest.** It is evident that the Philistines followed up the victories at Ebenezer. They established fortresses at various points in central Palestine, cutting the Hebrew country in two, and quickly suppressed any manifestation of rebellion against their authority. They also deprived the Hebrews of weapons as far as possible (13: 19, 22). No wonder that "a cry" (9: 16) had gone up from many loyal Israelitish hearts to Jehovah, their Divine leader, for deliverance from this hated yoke.

(2) THE CHOICE OF SAUL AS KING THROUGH SAMUEL,
THE PROPHET. (I Sam. 9: 1-11: 15)

(170) This fascinating narrative introduces us to Saul, the brave young warrior. It gives a clear and attractive impression of his personality (9: 1, 2). In rapid sequence we are told of his apparently accidental meeting with Samuel (9: 3-14), the latter's conviction that Saul was the needed leader of the Hebrews (9: 15-17), his anointing by Samuel, the tokens of distinction (9: 19-24), the various confirmations of Saul's purpose (9: 25 to 10: 8), and the

exploit which gave him popular acceptance as king (11).

(171) **The Young Man Saul.** If the Israelites were groaning under the Philistine yoke and longing for a leader, Saul was well fitted to arouse their enthusiastic loyalty. He was of noble family, attractive in person, of kingly stature. While modest in estimating his own powers (9: 21; 10: 22) he had been dreaming of deliverance (9: 19). When Samuel gave him the place of distinction at the feast at Ramah, personally cared for his comfort, consecrated him for his great task, furnished him with a series of tests whose fulfilment might give him certitude, and then warned him to be ready for God's summons to duty (10: 7), Saul was brought face to face with the great task of leadership. The quietness (10: 16), with which he awaited God's own signal for action, was a further proof of his capacity.

(172) **The Prophet Bands.** On his way homeward Saul was met by a band of prophets in procession led by music. Such bands are first mentioned in this age and in connection with Samuel. They seem to be religious enthusiasts whose principal purpose in banding themselves together was to arouse the patriotic zeal and heroic self-sacrifice of the people so that they would fight for Jehovah and their homeland. With their motives and methods Saul was in full sympathy. Out of such dervish-like groups as these came the men of religious fervor and patriotic zeal, who, under Samuel's leadership, organized the prophetic brotherhood which played so important a part in the religious development of the nation for the next few centuries. Loyal zeal rather than culture was their distinguishing characteristic in Saul's day, but men who are at least thoroughly in earnest concerning matters of moment are the very ones whom God can develop into men of rare social and religious usefulness.

(173) **The Choice of Saul as King.** The attack of the Ammonites upon Jabesh-Gilead gave Saul his eagerly awaited opportunity. Summoning the tribesmen far and near to rally to the relief of their beleaguered kinsmen, he made a forced march, surprised the Ammonites and scat-

tered them. Returning to Gilgal, the victorious Hebrews, under the advice of Samuel, and with solemn ceremony, made Saul their king. It was an auspicious beginning of a new order of social and political life, in which the Hebrews were to learn the blessings of a spirit of unity. They had far to go, for they were an independent, self-reliant people by nature. But the hearty support of Samuel, the proven prowess of Saul, and the dangerous dominance of the Philistines combined to create a strong sentiment in favor of a permanent king and all that such royalty involved. Several centuries later a historian of these days regarded the step taken by the people at this time as a retrogression from an earlier ideal condition. To his mind the kingdom was the only feasible outcome of a difficult situation, but one to be deplored (12). The historian of today inclines strongly to the view of the earliest source that the establishment of the kingdom was a real step of progress.

(3) SAUL'S SPLENDID DELIVERANCE OF HIS PEOPLE FROM THEIR FOES. (I Sam. 13, 14)

(174) This stirring narrative recounts the attempt of the Philistines to crush promptly the movement toward Hebrew unity, the heroic exploit of Jonathan, and the great victory of the Hebrews over the Philistines. It also includes a general summary of Saul's reign (14:47-52). The narrative of the battle and what followed is superb. One realizes the panic of Saul's forces when they faced the Philistines (13:5-7a, 15), the over-confidence of the Philistines (13:17, 18; 14:11, 12), Jonathan's fine courage (14:6), his single-handed exploit which started a rout (14:8-16), the overwhelming defeat of the Philistines (14:9-22), Saul's rash vow with its unexpected consequences (14:24-44) and its disapproval by the people (14:45).

(175) **The Over-Confidence of the Philistines.** The Philistines evidently underrated the Hebrews. Hearing of Jonathan's attack upon their outpost at Gibeah, they promptly advanced up the pass of Beth-horon to Mich-

mash. Saul's levies became panic-stricken, and most of them fled. Finding no opposition, the Philistines sent out parties to plunder. This was Jonathan's opportunity. His test questions (14: 9, 10) made clear to him their spirit of over-confidence. His intrepidity took them by surprise, and threw them into a confusion from which they had no chance to rally. They really defeated themselves.

(176) **Saul's Foolish Vow.** With the Philistines in full flight toward the valley of Ajalon, Saul, in his anxiety to win a decisive victory, laid a ban on the Hebrew who should stop to eat before nightfall. It was a rash, indiscriminating measure, which Jonathan with his usual good sense condemned as soon as he heard of it. Before the day was over the energies of the pursuing Hebrews were wholly exhausted and their overwhelming advantage was lost.

Later on, when Saul discovered that Jonathan, his son, had broken the ban, it seemed to him, as to Jephthah, that the punishment of death must be executed, or else God would be dishonored. With fine manhood, Jonathan calmly accepted the consequences of his unwitting sin. "I did, indeed, taste . . .; here I am. I will die." (14: 43.) There was no note of complaint in his answer. Fortunately the good sense of the people prevailed over their superstition, and they refused to acquiesce in Saul's decree.

(177) **Saul's Early Reign.** The length of time covered by these chapters is unknown. Even 13: 1 throws no light when properly rendered. It should read "Saul was —years old when he began to reign, and he reigned— and two years over Israel." An exact parallel with the figures inserted instead of being omitted is found in I Kings 22: 42. It is the customary formula with which the story of a reign is introduced. The only Biblical estimate of the length of Saul's reign is found in Acts 13: 21, which uses the round number "forty." Modern estimates are but little more than half that number of years.

As the summary in 14: 47-52 shows, the earlier part of

Saul's reign was full of activity. The Philistines made no united attempt to win back the control of central Canaan until the very close of his reign. They were often making skirmishes or raids, however. The other petty nationalities, such as Ammon, Moab, Edom and such tribesmen as the Amalekites, Saul soon inspired with a wholesome respect for his prowess.

Gibeah, Saul's home, was a central, well-protected, commanding situation. He made it his capital and held court out "under the tamarisk tree on the hill." He cared little for the trappings of royalty, bearing himself like a chieftain among his vassals rather than like a king encircled by courtiers. His was a democratic rough-and-ready sovereignty, his own tribesmen forming his immediate and dependable circle (22: 6-8).

2. THE DETERIORATION OF SAUL AND THE GRADUAL PREPARATION OF DAVID FOR LEADERSHIP.

(I Sam. 15-31; II Sam. 1:1-5:5)

How Saul and Samuel were estranged. I Sam. 15.

How Samuel was led to consecrate David for national leadership. 16: 1-13.

How David was summoned to Saul's court and prospered there. 16: 14-18: 5. (Earliest narrative. 16: 14-23; 17: 1-11, 15, 16, 32-40, 42-54.)

The gradual growth of a spirit of jealousy in Saul's mind. 18: 6-19: 24.

David's forced retirement from the court to the wilderness. 20-23.

His growing recognition by the nation as a leader to be trusted. 24, 25.

Saul's relentless pursuit of David, who flees to Gath of Philistia but remains true to Hebrew interests. 26, 27.

The new Philistine invasion and the death of Saul on Mt. Gilboa. 28-31.

David's sincere grief over the death of Saul and Jonathan. II Sam. 1: 1-27.

His quick acceptance as king of Judah. 2: 1-4.

The seven years' interval before the death of Ishbaal. 2: 5-4: 12.

The coronation of David as king over all Israel. 5: 1-5.

(178) The interest of the reader is transferred abruptly from Saul to David. The former is discredited; the latter is the man of promise to whom everyone is looking. The tragedy of Saul's life contrasts in striking fashion with the growing strength and success of David. The career of David is sketched in a series of connected, vivid narratives of high literary merit, invaluable to the student of

Israel's religious, social and political life. Occasional duplications reveal the varied sources on which the writer drew. The resultant impression of these fine tales is the conviction that Jehovah planned and guided the whole course of events.

(1) DAVID'S TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP AT COURT
AND AS AN OUTLAW. (I Sam. 15-26)

(179) These chapters trace David's consecration, appointment at court, victory, promotion, court life, flight, and life in the desert. For the continuous story of his appointment to court and fight with Goliath, according to the oldest source, read 16:14 to 17:11; 17:15, 16, 32-49, 51-54; 18:6-9. Naturally the career of David, so beloved of his people, was preserved in many popular stories, additions from some of them appearing here and there. From 15:1 to 16:13 are two interesting tales which doubtless came from prophetic sources. They emphasize the authority of Samuel to displace and to appoint.

The graphic narrative of David's youth explains his appearance (16:14-23) as one of Saul's attendants, the boastful Philistine challenge (17:4-11), David's acceptance and victory (17:32-54), his universal popularity (18:6-9, 16), the quick growth of Saul's jealousy (18:10 to 19:17) contrasted with Jonathan's close friendship for David (18:1-4; 19:1-7; 20:1-43; 23:16-18). The remaining chapters trace David's wanderings and indicate Saul's malignant pursuit of him (21:1-9; 22:6-19). The fine portrait of the shrewd, efficient Abigail who became David's trusted wife and counsellor (25) also hints at David's growing strength with the people (25:28).

(180) **The Knightly Jonathan.** One of the most attractive portraits in the Old Testament is that of Jonathan. He had a brave and noble soul. He was all that Saul should have been. His prowess (13:3; 14:6-14), good judgment (14:29, 30; 20:2), frankness (14:43), warm-heartedness (18:3, 4), and clear visioned loyalty to David (20; 23:16-18), were admirable. In David's impressionable years his close friendship with such a

trustworthy, faithful, large-minded, disinterested, self-sacrificing nature was providential. David did not over-rate Jonathan's affectionate friendship in II Sam. 1:26.

(181) **Saul's Growing Madness.** The closing years of Saul's reign were unhappy ones. He had forfeited the support and friendship of Samuel. He became bitterly jealous of David, his popular officer. With occasional flashes of his old, energetic, companionable self, he settled into a morose brooding, which was dangerous. How much this was due to disease and how far to the stirrings of conscience we are not told. The effect of it all was to make him an uncontrollable and dangerous despot, feared by all, rapidly losing his hold upon people and kingdom.

(182) **David's Experience at Court.** David came to Saul's court a young man of unusual physique and prowess. His surroundings there were a good school for the future ruler. All the people could know him. He met constantly the leaders of every class. He became acquainted with the problems and needs of the people. He was trained as a soldier in managing bodies of men. All phases of his experience were of great value to David. So wonderfully did he respond to their stimulus that among the people (25:28-31) and the leaders alike (23:17) arose the conviction that David was the coming ruler of the Hebrew people.

(183) **His Career as an Outlaw.** The description of David's men in 22:2 may be misunderstood. His six hundred men were not a collection of rascals but of men broken in fortune, often, probably, through persecution. Such deeds as theirs were deeds of brave men, wholly loyal to David. Many of them became David's trusted nobles. His intimate companionship with such men among the vicissitudes of outlaw life was a valuable factor in preparing him for royalty. The close and friendly contact with the people who were to be his subjects was equally helpful. David did not need to wage war with Saul. His battle was being fought for him. For three illustrations of his need of growth note 25:21, 22; 26:19 and 27:9-11. He was the idol of his men, the

devoted servant of Jehovah, yet crude in his religious ideas and capable of deeds of great cruelty. He needed all kinds of experience and instruction before he could become the man of God's choice.

(2) SAUL'S DEATH AND DAVID'S ELECTION AS KING.
(I Sam. 27-31; II Sam. 1:1-5:5.)

(184) This section describes the events which concluded in the attack of the Philistines which caused Saul's death, thus opening the way for the choice of David as king. It follows David as he became for a time the vassal of the king of Gath (27:1-4), allowed to dwell in Ziklag in the south (27:5-7) whence he made forays against his hereditary foes (27:8-12). Possessing the confidence of Achish (28:1, 2), David was fortunately saved from disloyalty either to him or to the Hebrews (29). The Amalekite raid he turned to good advantage (30).

Meanwhile we note the utter despair of Saul which led him to consult the woman at En-dor (28) and his speedy death (31:1-6), the contrasting brutality and devotion toward his dead body (31:8-13), how David heard the news of his death (II Sam. 1:1-16), the beautiful and worthy expression of his grief (1:17-27), his acceptance as king by Judah (2:1-4) and residence at Hebron (2:1, 11; 3:5), the blood feud between Joab and Abner (2:12-32), Abner's quarrel with his own sovereign and league with David (3:6-22), his murder by Joab (3:23-39), the later murder of Saul's son (4) and the unanimous invitation by the Israelitish leaders to David to become their king (5:3). A narrative of great clarity, power and interest.

(185) **The Providence Surrounding David.** No better illustration of the way in which David was saved from fatal errors can be found than that given during the closing year or two of the life of Saul. Forced to become a vassal of Achish, the Philistine, David was enabled to avoid a breaking of faith on the one hand or the injury of his countrymen on the other. Right at the moment of his severest test (I Sam. 28:1, 2; 29:2-11), the jealousy

of the Philistine chieftains set him free. His great misfortune at Ziklag he converted into an occasion for making an important ruling (I Sam. 30: 24) recognized everywhere as just, and an opportunity to reward those who had befriended him when a homeless chieftain (30: 26-31). Every experience seemed to contribute to his strength.

(186) **The Melancholy Close of Saul's Career.** The story of Saul's last days is full of gloom. His treatment had driven from him his ablest followers; he had alienated those who were devout (22: 11-19); the prophetic group was apparently against him; a clear-headed woman and his own great-hearted son (25: 28; 23: 17) had expressed their certainty that his kingdom would pass to David; even Saul himself held that opinion (23: 17); he felt quite unable to cope with the Philistine army (28: 5). It was good evidence of his mental and moral collapse that he turned on the last night of his life to a medium that he might consult his old friend and guide, Samuel.

His actual death in the midst of the battle was characteristic of his old self. His army fled in confusion, but Saul and his sons bravely met their fate.

(187) **David's Elegy.** There was a general feeling of sorrow among his subjects over the death of Saul and his sons, but none of those who mourned were more sincere or more impressive in their grief than David. The touching poem of II Sam. 1 came from his heart. It is interesting not only because of its poetical beauty and its high-mindedness, but because it is a good specimen of the original material that must underlie and contribute to such a historical survey as First and Second Samuel. (Compare §§ 19, 164.)

(188) **The Two Little Kingdoms.** It is quite probable that both David and Ishbosheth, whose real name was, probably, Ishbaal (I Chron. 9: 39), were regarded as vassals by the Philistines and that each paid tribute. Under such conditions, the Philistines left them free to do as they would. Each king had a military leader of the first rank, who was jealous of the other. Their incidental warfare is described in order to introduce the men them-

selves, Joab and Abner, men without fear or conscience, ready for any act of violence, difficult of management even by David, whose policy had to be a waiting and watchful one. His effort at conciliation was thwarted by Joab, whose murder of Abner, however, assured the coveted throne of Israel to his master, David.

(189) **The Reign of Saul over Israel.** Reviewing the whole reign of Saul from the standpoint of a secular historian, it seems to deserve more credit than First Samuel conveys. He was a capable and brave soldier and retained to the last the control of his people. In his day the leading tribes of the north and south were brought together. He extended his kingdom southward and northward (I Sam. 14: 47, 48), and gave it permanence. The hostile Canaanitish strongholds (§145) were reduced to one, that at Jerusalem. Moreover, his authority was so well established across the Jordan that Mahanaim became the refuge and capital of his son (II Sam. 2: 8). The savagery and vindictiveness of his last years were due largely, no doubt, to mental disease. But with all his bravery he combined rashness, selfwill and insubordination. His career was ruined by himself. He was religious after a fashion (I Sam. 28: 9; 14: 35), but he could not understand such a man as Samuel nor the great issues which he represented. Consequently he deprived himself and his throne of its strongest support and made ultimate failure a certainty. Notwithstanding all this, it is also true that David's brilliant reign was made possible by reason of Saul's achievements.

3. THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM UNDER DAVID. (II Sam. 5: 6—I Kings 2: 11)

David's capture of Jerusalem which was made a true capital. II Samuel 5: 6-16; 6: 1-23; 8: 15-18.

The speedy and skilful crushing of the Philistines. 5: 17-25; 21: 15-22; 23: 9-17.

His conquests of surrounding peoples. 8: 1-14; 10: 1-19.

His kindness to the son of Jonathan. 9: 1-13; 16: 1-4; 19: 24-30; 21: 7.

David's deplorable sin and its long train of bitter personal consequences.

11-20.

Incidents showing his primitiveness of thinking. 21, 24.

The sudden selection of Solomon as David's successor and his coronation. I Kings 1: 1-53.

David's parting injunctions to Solomon. 2:1-11.

(190) The story of the reign of David over united Israel is, in the main, an unbroken narrative, compelling in its interest and of great ethical value. It tells the story of David, not merely to call attention to his greatness, but to show also the plain secret of his misfortunes. It sets forth vividly the long train of inevitable consequences that followed upon his deliberate sin against his faithful henchman and against his own conscience. He was his own worst foe. This long narrative which extends from the ninth chapter to the appendix, and originally included the first two chapters of First Kings, is so crowded with lifelike details that it must have been substantially contemporaneous. The writer of the present books of Samuel incorporated it with little or no change (§164).

The chronology of David's reign is almost as obscure as that of the reign of Saul. The number "forty" (5:4) is so uniformly a round number in the Old Testament that even the exactness of the verse following is not convincing. Unquestionably, however, the reign of David over the whole nation was relatively long, for much was achieved in the course of it. Perhaps the existence of a keeper of chronicles or "recorder" as a royal officer (8:16) at David's court should increase the probability of the estimate recorded in 5:5. It must be always remembered that the Hebrews were very casual in their chronologizing down to the reign of Manasseh (§308). II Sam. 5:4, 5, whether accurate or incorrect, was inserted by an editor long after David's day.

(1) JERUSALEM CAPTURED AND MADE THE CAPITAL OF
THE UNITED AND EMANCIPATED KINGDOM.

(II Sam. 5:6-6:23; 21: 15-22; 23:8-19)

(191) These passages describe the severe but victorious contests of David with the Philistines, his capture of Jerusalem in order to make it his capital and his centralization there of all the interests of his people.

They chronicle a prompt invasion of David's territory by the Philistines (5:17-25. Compare 21:15-22), his enforced seclusion (5:17c; 23:14), the fine exploit by the Three (23:13-17), David's successful campaign (5:25; 7:1), his immediate capture of the long-threatening stronghold of Jebus (5:6-8. Compare I Chron. 11:5, 6) which he made his capital (5:9), his two earliest building enterprises (5:9-11) and the joyful, reverent transfer of the sacred Ark to the new capital (6). Thus Jerusalem became the religious, political and social center of the Hebrew state.

(192) **The Decisive Conflict with the Philistines.** The Philistines rightly interpreted the acceptance by David of the crown of all Israel as a declaration of war, and lost no time in sending an army into the Hebrew hill country. The struggle was hotly contested and lasted for some time. At one time David was forced to take refuge in the cave or fortress of Adullam, twelve miles from Bethlehem by a very rough trail. He chanced to remember with longing the cool, delicious water of the well at Bethlehem, "which is by the gate." Three of his sturdy warriors instantly made their way through the Philistine outposts, secured the water and fought their way back again successfully. Such devotedness hallowed the brave and loving deed. David could not drink the water, but offered it to Jehovah as a precious sacrifice (23:13-17). The story is idyllic.

In the wide ranging valley of Rephaim, southwest of Jerusalem, two fierce battles were fought, the last one being a crushing defeat for the Philistines, which cleared them out of David's dominions, compelled a lasting peace, and left him free to strengthen and consolidate his kingdom.

(193) **Jerusalem Captured and Made David's Capital.** From the time of the Conquest under Joshua down to David's day, Jerusalem had remained a Canaanitish stronghold. It was an ancient city in Joshua's day and was one of a chain of Canaanitish strongholds, extending westward as far as Gezer, which the men of Israel had

been unable to capture (§§145, 162). This line of fortresses had been an important factor in the separation of southern from central Canaan. David had already asserted his mastery over the rest of the debatable region (5: 25) and now set himself with new vigor to the capture of the fortress of Jebus, which, from the East Hill above the spring Gihon, dominated and controlled Jerusalem.

The passage which reports the capture (5: 6-8) is rather obscure. It seems to indicate that the Jebusites were over-confident and that David managed to surprise them. The parallel passage in I Chron. 11: 4-6, states that David offered the post of commander-in-chief to its captor. Joab, his own kinsman (I Chron. 2: 16), won the prize. David was large-minded enough to respect his foes. He deprived them of their power, but spared them otherwise (II Sam. 24: 18-25). They were made citizens of the new capital. More than four centuries later the prophet Ezekiel in explaining Jerusalem's wickedness attributed it to the fact that the city was heathen in origin. (Ezek. 16: 3.)

David showed excellent judgment in the choice of Jerusalem to be his capital. It belonged to no one tribe; it was identified with neither north nor south; it was conveniently situated, tolerably well-watered, readily defensible, hard to attack, and yet in quick communication with all parts of the country. It had the possibilities of a real capital. He could not have foreseen its real greatness, but he laid well the foundations. For twenty-nine centuries Jerusalem has remained a city of note. In David's time it was perhaps about the size of Gezer, a royal Canaanite city, which measured 4,500 feet around the walls. People lived compactly in those days.

(194) **David's Nationalizing Policy.** David's genius as a ruler was quickly exhibited by the measures he took. He built a palace and other appropriate buildings, he maintained a bodyguard of "mighty men," he rapidly increased the population of the city, he organized his court, he encouraged trade and greatly enhanced the importance and strength of Jerusalem. The step of

greatest importance was the bringing of the sacred Ark from Kirjath-jearim to the capital. It symbolized the presence of Jehovah to hallow and bless the new city.

As George Adam Smith has pointed out, the realization by Jerusalem of her greatest dignity and influence was a work of centuries. David's policy involved much forehandedness and far-sightedness. But such characteristics seem appropriate to the David of history. He had set his heart upon making a real nation. He shrewdly understood the weakness of Saul's policy and set himself to the task of building up a national center of political, social and religious influence which should soon quicken a sense of pride and loyalty in the hearts of every man of Israel, south or north. It was a little city, with a tiny palace and crude conditions, but it was big with promise.

(195) **The Transfer of the Ark.** The circumstances of the transfer of the Ark throw much light upon the religious ideas of the day. It was so sacred that the death of Uzzah was attributed to his rash handling of it, even to save it from harm. It was borne on a cart never used before (6:3). The emotions of the worshippers had to find vent in the loud playing of musical instruments and in frenzied dancing. The Ark was brought into the fortress and placed near David's palace. Here it was sheltered in a tent, which David prepared. I Kings 8:4 calls this the "tent of meeting" (§ 129), the historic tent which Moses had frequented (rendered in the Authorized Version "tabernacle of the congregation"). The fortified hill-top known as "David's City" was unquestionably the best and safest place for the Ark at that time, but, as we shall see, the close proximity of the palace and the shrine was not always to the advantage of the latter.

(2) THE NEW KINGDOM MADE SUPREME IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

(II Sam. 7:1-11:1; 12:26-31; 21:1-14; 23:8-24:25)

(196) These passages describe the wars by which David made himself the most important monarch of his region, various incidents of his early reign, and the or-

ganization of his kingdom. They are best understood when analyzed into episodes. The appendix to II Samuel (21-24) contains much interesting data of this period, such as the severe famine and its bloody atonement (21: 1-14), David's determination to enumerate his people, the objections voiced and the ultimate outcome of the project (24), his list of distinguished warriors and their deeds of bravery (23: 8-12). His generous treatment of Jonathan's son (9), his wars of conquest (8; 10; 11: 1; 12: 26-31) and the use he wished to make of the resultant spoil (8: 7, 8, 10-12; 12: 30) were what we might expect. His court roster is named in 8: 15-18.

(197) **The Extent of David's Kingdom.** King David began his royal career (2: 4) with a kingdom no larger than a fair-sized county. From Bethel to Beersheba was about fifty-five miles. The average breadth of Judah was between twenty-five and thirty miles. One half of this area was desert. He left a small empire ranging from the Lebanon Mountains to the border of Egypt on the south. Its area was, roughly speaking, two hundred miles in length and from seventy to a hundred miles in breadth, a little larger than the state of Vermont.* His dominance was acknowledged by the Aramean states, by Moab, Ammon and Edom, by the Philistines and by the desert tribes, while other countries held him in high respect. His aggressive policy was a factor of great importance in transforming his own people from discouraged, disunited peasants into men of racial pride, masterfulness and outlook. His new capital became an important and busy center with its throng of officials and their families, of princes and their retinues, of soldiers, merchants, temple people and visitors. Jerusalem must have grown rapidly during David's reign.

(198) **Its Organization.** (II Sam. 8: 15-18; 15: 37; 16: 16; 20: 23-26; I Chron. 27: 33.) These references indicate the great advance made by David in the organization of a well-ordered kingdom. His people in their own districts were ruled, according to traditional custom, by their

* See the map, "Palestine under David," fronting page 80.

elders and men of rank, through whom any local demand could readily be made known to the king. He often deputized (15:3) others to act for him, but remained the high court of justice to whom anybody could appeal (14:4).

At David's right hand were three men, the scribe or secretary of state; the recorder or keeper of the royal archives; and the "king's friend," a valued counselor. The two priests of highest rank, Zadok and Abiathar, were probably ranked as advisers of state also. To these David added during the latter part of his reign a master of the levies. (20:24.)

Two other officers were of great importance, the commander of the picked bodyguard of warriors who were in close attendance on the king, Benaiah, and the general of the "host" or army which was recruited whenever needed, Joab. Each was a trusted warrior. The miscellaneous notes of chapter 23 suggest that among the body guard of six hundred were not a few redoubtable warriors, who had proven their prowess on many battlefields. The absolute loyalty of Ittai of Gath to David in the days of his misfortune (15:19-22) was but one indication of their fidelity to their chosen liege.

(199) **Its Inner Spirit.** David's reign was a time of transition and experiment and occasional crudity. The execution of seven of the descendants of Saul as a proper atonement for his violation of the covenant with the Gibeonites and the general feeling that such an expiation was the only way to free the nation from guilt (21:1-14) shows the bondage of David and his people to superstition. On the other hand the judgment of the prophet Gad that David's census-taking indicated a desire to set up an autocracy or an over-reliance upon material strength and his declaration that Jehovah would surely punish such an attitude indicates a healthy moral sense.

The new Israel of David's day is indicated in two important ways. When Nathan, the prophet, dissuaded David from attempting to build the temple he voiced a growing sense of nationality (7). David's successes put

a new aspiration into his people. They began to think in terms of a permanent kingdom. This idea of permanence was a germinal form of the Messianic hope of the prophets. The chapter giving it expression is generally regarded as the addition (as we read it today) of a later editor (§ 164).

Scholars think that the same prosperity stirred into action the creative power of the people. They gave expression to their ambitions in forms of literature. To this age are generally credited the Oracles of Balaam in their present form, the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), the book of Jashar and the book of the Wars of Jehovah (Num. 21: 14; II Sam. 1: 18). Tradition has credited to King David the authorship of many of the psalms. He was certainly a gifted musician and poet, as well as a very zealous worshipper of Jehovah. His exact share in the Psalter it is useless to try to determine. The psalms, as we know them, represent the work of centuries, during which they underwent repeated revision. It would probably be correct to attribute to the prophets and priests of David's day much of the credit for the literary interest of the period.

(3) DAVID'S GREAT SIN AND ITS LAMENTABLE TRAIN OF BITTER CONSEQUENCES. (II Sam. 11-20)

(200) This fine narrative, unsurpassed in the Old Testament for vividness and ethical insight, relates the deliberate crime of David, its consequences, immediate and remote, of lust, murder, rebellion and disloyalty, and the loss of prestige to the throne.

It details David's temptation and fall and his shamefully deliberate authorization of Uriah's death (11), how his sin was brought home to him by the prophet Nathan (12: 1-23), how his own son, Amnon, outraged Absalom's sister and was slain by him (13), how Absalom's consequent exile from court was brought to an end through Joab's strategy (14), how Absalom plotted rebellion so successfully that David had to flee (15: 1-23). The narrative etches some of David's loyal followers (15: 19-21,

27-29, 32-37), the remarkable cleverness of Hushai (16: 15 to 17: 23), the varying reception of David (16: 1-14) and the defeat and death of Absalom at Mahanaim (17: 24 to 18: 17), followed by the tribal jealousies (19: 9-15, 40) which led to Sheba's revolt (20), eventually suppressed.

(201) **David's Great Sin.** David's chivalry could not stand against the enervating influences of a growing harem and constant palace life. (21: 17.) He coveted, and took the wife of one of his brave warriors. It is significant that the Israelites regarded this as a shameful act, not one conferring honor. Their ideals were sound. Nathan spoke for the heart of the people when he appealed to the justice and pity of the king, and declared that Jehovah would punish him for his mean and dastardly crimes.

(202) **The Chain of Bitter Consequences.** David's gratification of his mad passion made it harder for him to discipline his oldest son, Amnon, for a similar outrage and, consequently, Absalom, regarding adequate vengeance as his duty, murdered Amnon. With Absalom's case the king failed to deal in his old, vigorous fashion, so that again that ambitious prince felt himself aggrieved and justified in conspiring to dethrone his father, whose withdrawal from public life gave him free opportunity to carry out his plans. The rebellion, although it was crushed, left so much ill feeling behind it that Sheba was emboldened to revolt. By his lack of self-control and respect for another's home, King David brought his promising kingdom almost to destruction.

(203) **The Growing Influence of the Prophets.** There is no mention in the records of David's reign of the prophetic brotherhood at Ramah, to whose protection David fled when he was pursued by Saul. (I Sam. 19: 18-24.) That it was in existence is indicated by the fact that similar organizations were a feature of the life of Israel a little later on. Two prophetic leaders, Nathan and Gad, were close to David and highly respected by him. To the influence of these men of religious fervor, intellectual capacity, and keen spiritual insight, may be attributed

Israel's rapid advance in public morality and national idealism. The prophets functioned mainly as community advisors on moral and religious questions and as annalists. They stood for loyalty to Jehovah.

(4) DAVID'S LAST DAYS. (I Kings 1:1-2:11)

(204) This passage relates the attempt of Adonijah to seize the throne of all Israel and its result in the immediate enthronement of Solomon as king. It brings out the extreme physical weakness of David in his old age (1:1-4), the pretensions of Adonijah and his coterie (1:5-10) to the succession, how the prophet Nathan warned David of the danger (1:11-31) so that prompt measures were taken to crown prince Solomon (1:32-40), the sudden collapse of the conspiracy (1:41-53) and the surprising charge of the dying David to the new boy king (2:1-9).

(205) **The Plot of Adonijah.** In his last years David was weak and inert. His court was the scene of much plotting concerning the succession. David, apparently, had made no public announcement of his purpose to select Solomon as his successor. (1:20.) A strong party to which Joab and Abiathar belonged favored the claims of Adonijah, the eldest living son of David, and he even went so far as to call his supporters together to proclaim him king and seize the throne. By the shrewd promptness of Nathan, David was roused to decisive action. Solomon was placed on the royal mule, led at David's command down to the spring of Gihon, anointed king, proclaimed to the people and seated on the throne. Adonijah's party dispersed in fear and the ringleader was only spared by reason of the clemency of his new sovereign.

(206) **The Dying Injunctions of David.** The greatest blot on David's character is occasioned by his charge to Solomon on his deathbed. Such vindictiveness does not seem in keeping with the great and generous leader who was patient (II Sam. 16:5-13) under the insults of Shimei and owed so much for faithful service to Joab. We can only explain it by supposing that David was no longer his manful self.

(207) **The Character and Work of David.** David was the real creator of the Israelitish nation. He took a badly disorganized people and made it into a well organized nation with an ample country, a central capital, a national consciousness and an outlook. Israel began to feel itself a power in the world; the prophets, at least, were anxious that it should be a power for good.

He was a military genius, a resourceful, statesmanlike ruler and one in sympathy with the best ideals of his age. He could sin deeply, but he also repented sincerely. His greatest weaknesses were displayed in the realm of the affections. He inspired the most touching and loyal devotion in his followers and seemed to gather about him those of the highest type. Intensely human in his faults and virtues alike, the weight of his life's influence was in favor of all that contributed to the growth of his people, politically and religiously.

4. SOLOMON'S SPLENDID AND PEACEFUL BUT DISINTEGRATING REIGN. (I Kings 2:12-11:43)

Solomon's evident fitness to rule. 2: 12-3: 28.

The organization of his kingdom and court. 4.

His building of the splendid temple for Jehovah. 5-7.

The solemn dedication of the temple to the worship of the Invisible. 8: 1-9: 9.

Solomon's many enterprises. 9: 10-28.

How his whole world praised him and contributed to his glory. 10: 1-29.

The evil side of his many alliances. 11: 1-13.

His minor adversaries. 11: 14-25.

How the prophet Ahijah predicted a revolt under Jeroboam. 11: 26-40.

The close of Solomon's long and peaceful reign. 11: 41-43.

(208) The story of Solomon's reign differs in form from any of the narratives heretofore read in that it is a mass of details rather than an unbroken story. The central fact of interest is the description of Solomon's buildings, notably the Temple. The other facts related are of real importance, but they seem to be loosely arranged. 4: 20-26 is an evident interpolation, since verse 27 belongs with verse 19. Moreover, it seems to be an exilic interpolation, for verse 24, read accurately (see marginal notes), implies a Babylonian standpoint. Moreover, the order of the

chapters is no key to the order of the occurrence of the events related in them. The text of the Greek Old Testament is in even worse condition. The reason for the anecdotal character of the chapters devoted to the reign of Solomon is not apparent, and the fact is not important. They are mainly quite eulogistic.

(1) THE PROMISING BEGINNINGS OF SOLOMON'S REIGN.

(I Kings 2: 12-5: 12; 9: 10-10: 29.)

(209) These data describe the spirit in which Solomon undertook his great task, his plans for the splendor of his capital and the security and prosperity of his people.

They relate the stern measures ultimately taken to remove the king's irreconcilable enemies (2: 13-46), the fineness of his ideals at the outset (3: 5-15), and an outstanding instance of his capacity as a ruler (3: 16-28). Note the improved organization of his court (4: 1-6) and the provision for its regular maintenance (4: 7, 22, 23, 27, 28), the basis of his far-flung fame (4: 29-34), his plans for the Temple (5: 1-12), his other building operations (3: 1; 9: 10, 15, 17-19, 24; 10: 17-20), the visit of the queen of Sheba (10: 1-10, 13) and his development of trade (9: 26-28, 10: 11, 15, 22, 28, 29).

(210) **His Quick Exhibit of Capacity to Rule.** Solomon was given a kingdom but he showed at once that he was a born ruler. He took no action with reference to those who had conspired against him until he had reason to think that they were still contemplating treason. Then with three swift blows he removed the three men who questioned his legitimacy and the other man who disobeyed his express command. There was no hint thereafter of rebellion in his vicinity.

He took a lofty view of his responsibilities, choosing for himself neither wealth, honor nor the life of his foes, but the ability to govern his people wisely. He rose to the level of his splendid heritage and seemed to take the worthy resolve to give it permanence.

A strong factor in his influence may have been his versatility. He was celebrated far and wide for his cleverness

and his culture, and is credited with the originating impulse in the case of Hebrew proverbial literature. Three Biblical books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, and one apocryphal book, the Wisdom of Solomon, were accredited to him, but none could really have been his composition. In many ways, however, Solomon showed himself capable of taking the lead of his people.

(211) **The Organization of His Kingdom.** Solomon improved in various ways upon David's scheme of organization. His division of the kingdom into twelve provinces, each providing supplies for the court for one month each year, may not have been made early in his reign, but it was in active operation long before its close. There is reason to think that it involved some favoritism. Judah, at least, is not included within the boundaries of the provinces.

Solomon added to David's court officials another scribe, a steward or officer of the household and a minister of finance. He also increased the dignity of the "King's Friend" and used hundreds of minor officials. (9:23, compare 5:16.)

(212) **His Building Enterprises in Jerusalem.** What Solomon did for Jerusalem and his kingdom in the way of building was his most lasting service. He found a Jerusalem which was little better than a fortress, crowded and inconvenient, surrounded by growing suburbs. He left Jerusalem an imposing and beautiful city, ranking well among the minor capitals of that era.

On the East Hill, above David's fortress, Solomon erected a complex of buildings and courts within one greater court which was surrounded by a strong wall. The Temple was on the highest point, surrounded with its forecourt by a low wall. (6:36.) On a terrace below was a larger, middle or "other" court (7:8) containing the royal palace and the House of the Daughter of Pharaoh. Just below these structures were the great Throne Hall (7:7; 10:18-20), the Hall of Pillars (7:6), and the House of the Forest of Lebanon (7:2-5; 10:17, 21).

As materials for these costly structures and for the

Temple the records enumerate cedar wood, gold, ivory, silver, iron, copper, sandalwood (10:11), fir, precious stones and huge hewn stones. (5:17; 6:7.)

The records mention somewhat obscurely a work of fortification at Jerusalem. The Millo (9:24, 15; 11:27) may have been an earthwork or bastion at the south end of Davidsburg, as Smith names the original fortification. The wall of Jerusalem was built (3:1; 9:15), but whether it was more than the wall surrounding the Temple and the palace buildings is uncertain. Solomon put Jerusalem into fine defensive condition.

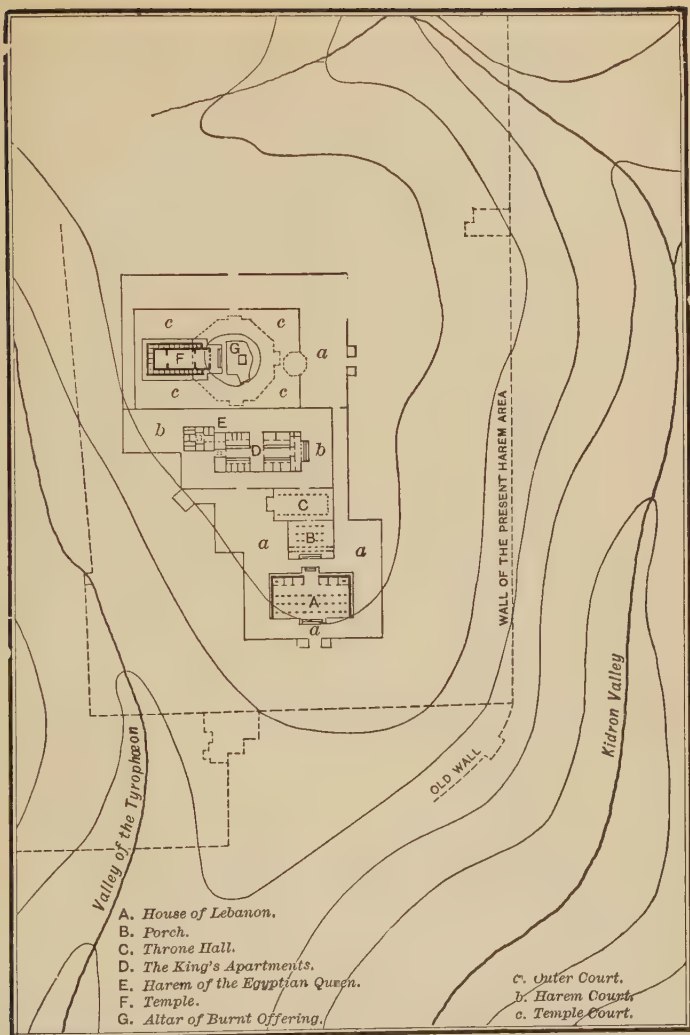
(213) **His Building Enterprises in Palestine.** Six fortresses were built by Solomon to protect his people from invasion, but also to enable him to police the main lines of international traffic (9:15, 17). Hazor commanded the main entrance from the north, Megiddo, the cross passage from Esdraelon to the plain of Sharon, Bethhoron the most open ascent to Judah from Sharon, Gezer the entrance to the valley of Ajalon, Baalath a yet more southerly approach from the seacoast and Tamar the road from the south to Hebron. The capital was thus adequately protected. Such fortresses were also an investment. In return for the protection of regular traffic, Solomon doubtless exacted a caravan toll.

Besides these are mentioned "store cities and cities for chariots and cities for horsemen" (9:19). Solomon had quite an army and introduced the use of chariots. This portion of his army, for topographical reasons, he could not keep at Jerusalem. Only individual chariots are mentioned as coming to the city. (II Kings 9:28; II Chron. 35:24.)

(2) THE BUILDING AND DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

(I Kings 5-8)

(214) These chapters give the details concerning the Temple, Solomon's crowning achievement for his people, and its dedication. They relate how he enlisted the interest and assistance of King Hiram of Tyre and the contract they made (5:1-12) and how he forced his own



PLAN OF SOLOMON'S PALACE
 (ACCORDING TO STADE)

people to contribute labor (5:13-18). Study the architectural data in chapter 6 and the years required for erection (6:37, 38) and the source of the treasure needed to pay for the structure (7:51; 9:11). The (rather late) account of the solemn dedication is impressive (8).

(215) **The Preparations Made for Building.** The record in Kings ignores any share of the people in the building of the Temple, except that which was forced upon them. I Chron. 29 mentions generous gifts of the wealthy among the people. Probably the spoils of David's wars furnished the greater part of the resources on which Solomon drew. He enlisted the aid of King Hiram and his Phoenician artisans for the actual work of erection.

(216) **The Plan of the Temple.** The Temple was a rectangular, thick walled building of large square stones and cedar beams, 124 by 55 by 52 feet, with a porch at the east front, and side chambers on the three sides. Its interior was divided by a wall into two apartments. The outer apartment, called the Holy Place (8:10), was 70 by $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet in extent. The inner sanctuary or Most Holy Place (8:6) was a cube of $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a small chamber above (6:20). The whole building was panelled with carved cedar, floored with cypress, and, according to 6:21, overlaid with gold. The Temple was not imposing in size, but it did not need to be. It was not a home for worshippers; they used the court. It was simply a dwelling for Jehovah.

(217) **Its Furniture.** At the very apex of the East Hill was the great Altar of Burnt Offering, now the rock es-Sakhra, under the dome of the mosque of Omar. Near the altar was the Bronze Sea (7:23-37), a huge tank, seventeen feet in diameter, supported by twelve bronze bulls. In the court with them were ten movable lavers for use in sacrifices. Where the Bronze Serpent stood (II Kings 18:4) we do not know. From the Great Altar steps led down to the Porch of the Temple, which was flanked on either side by beautiful bronze pillars, Jachin and Boaz (7:15-22). In the Holy Place stood the Table of Shewbread and the lampstands. The Most Holy

Place was unlighted. It contained the Ark and the Cherubim. (8:6-9.) Thus, provision was made for the simple but stately ceremonial worship believed to be acceptable to Jehovah. Solomon could do no more.

(218) **Its Religious Significance.** The Greek Old Testament supplies the missing line of the two couplets in 8:12, 13, making it read:

The sun hath Jehovah set in the heavens,
But He hath Himself decreed to dwell in thick darkness
I have built thee a House, an abode,
A seat of thy habitation forever.

This is a significant and early declaration. The Greek version credits it to the book of Jashar. It recognizes the creative power of Jehovah, His invisibleness, and His presence with men. It gives us a far clearer assurance of the thoughts which the completed Temple inspired than the elaborated prayer of dedication, which betrays the mind of the age (§ 326) when the books of Kings were written.

The religious symbolism represented by the Cherubim, the Sea, the Serpent and the Pillars was an inheritance from the past. It is interesting to note that they gradually disappeared. They were really unnecessary, and incompatible with a true spirituality.

The Temple at the outset was more a royal than a national sanctuary. It had important rivals at Bethel, Dan and Beer-sheba. But being at the capital and containing the Ark and in charge of the family of Zadok, it rapidly gained prestige.

(3) THE DISASTROUS OUTCOME OF HIS POLICY.

(I Kings 4:22-26; 5:13-16; 9:1-11:43)

(219) These passages testify to the splendor of Solomon's reign, the heavy burdens it laid upon his people and their growing discontent. 4:22-26, though a postexilic addition to the original narrative, reflects the peace and splendor of his reign, while scattered items indicate also the virtual slavery to which he reduced many subjects (4:6; 5:13-16; 12:4), notwithstanding the testimony of

9:20-22 over against which stands 12:4. Note the explanation of his deterioration through his alliances (11:1-8), the two persistent foes awaiting a chance to attack (11:14-25) and the two significant groups of opposition within his kingdom (11:26-40).

(220) **Solomon's Passion for Imperialism.** King Solomon was a monarch who was larger than his country. His ideas were far in advance of his real resources. His failure was in being unwilling to recognize his limitations and to adjust himself to them; and in assuming that his freedom-loving people would endure indefinitely whatever he chose to put into practise. He had an instinct for international dealings. Up and down through all of Palestine and Syria he made his country felt. He promoted ambitious voyages, which seem to have been successful. (10:22.) He made many alliances (11:1-8), cemented by marriages with the daughters of surrounding monarchs, his motive in the main being the promotion of amity and free commerce.

(221) **The Unsoundness of this Policy.** The bold act of Ahijah, the prophet of Shiloh, showed that he and other leaders came to disapprove of Solomon's policy, and to regard it as unfaithful to Jehovah. However excellent Solomon's motives may have been, the effect of his policy was to cause his own religious deterioration, to introduce into Israel elements which favored corruption and to overstrain the resources of his subjects. The splendor and influence of his reign were purchased at too heavy a cost. Instead of adding to the strength of his subjects he weakened them by galling taxation and enforced labor. If he consciously made slaves of those subjects who had been incorporated into his dominions by David, he was quite as unjust as if he had dealt with pure-blooded Hebrews. If he showed favoritism to Judah as over against his northern subjects, they were justified in demanding redress from his son. (12:4.) Whatever the reasons were, the greater portion of his subjects waited with ill-concealed impatience for Solomon's death.

(222) **The Symptoms of Revolt.** It is not very prob-

able that Solomon's subjects objected strongly to his alliances with other kings or to his marriages with their daughters or to his erection in Jerusalem of suitable places of worship for his foreign queens. To most of them, such arrangements would have seemed only courteous and inevitable. The prophets of that day, as well as of the days of the writer of Kings, seemed to take a different view. They saw the danger to the purity and strength of their own religion of so much religious hospitality. They declared that Jehovah would divide the kingdom.

Solomon was indifferent alike to the mutterings of his subjects and to the threats of the prophets. But when a young leader developed in the person of Jeroboam, a man of Ephraim, one of his own overseers, he was aroused to action. Jeroboam escaped to the court of Pharaoh, where he waited for Solomon's death.

(223) **The Work of Solomon.** King Solomon found Jerusalem a military stronghold and left it a beautiful city, imposing for that day. He developed the resources of his kingdom and gave his people a greater security than they had known before. He gave Israel's religion an adequate setting and opportunity by building the Temple. He wrought into enduring forms other ambitions of David. The peacefulness of his reign permitted him to be the patron of literature and art. His great defect would seem to be his overweening ambition, which fostered self-indulgence, lack of sympathy with his subjects and a polygamous habit of life. The promise of his early years was exchanged for a folly that greatly discredits his fame.

5. THE ISRAEL OF 937 B.C.

(224) **A Review of the Century of Nationalization.**

Its Records. In what books of the Bible do we find some data concerning this period?

Its Development. Into what four or five natural periods is the century divisible?

The Great Leaders. Out of the many who are mentioned by name in the records, and omitting Samuel,

Saul, David and Solomon, what five others are entitled to rank highest in importance?

The Narratives as Literature. Mention five passages which seem to be distinctively choice as literature.

The Contribution of the Age. What definite additions to Israel's possessions in territory or belongings can be attributed to the age between Samuel's boyhood and Solomon's death?

The Political Situation. What new nationality came in touch with Israel during the century?

Religious Development. What advances were made in the expression of the religious life of the nation?

The Period as a Whole. Put into a concise statement a summary of the century.

VII

SOME QUESTIONS IN GENERAL REVIEW OF HEBREW HISTORY TO 1000 B.C.

(225) 1. Why is the history of the Hebrew people a suitable starting-point in the study of universal history?

2. To what great family of nations did the Hebrews belong? Mention other nations who belonged to the same family. What were its marked characteristics?

3. From what two great centers did the civilization of the centuries preceding the Exodus spring?

4. What seven nations, not inferior in strength to the Hebrew people, do the centuries preceding 1000 B.C. bring into view?

5. How many smaller peoples have been mentioned in the records of these early centuries?

6. Which of the greater nations wielded an influence which could properly be termed imperial?

7. Make a sketch map of the western Asiatic world and locate thereon these nations of imperial influence in large letters and the petty peoples in smaller letters. Locate also the principal city of each. Locate the Euphrates, Tigris and Jordan Rivers, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Zagros Mountains

and the Armenian Mountains. Indicate by the western edge of the sketch-map your idea of the westward range of Israel's knowledge in the days of Solomon.

8. Counting the days of Abraham as approximating 2000 B.C., how long previous to that time had Babylonia had a distinctive civilization? Was this civilization in its beginnings in his time or was it well-developed? Sketch the history of Babylonia down to the days of Hammurabi. What did this great sovereign do for his country?

9. How can we account for the gradual decline in Babylonian supremacy during the millennium following the days of Hammurabi?

10. In what ways did Babylonia affect the Israelitish people?

11. What do we know about the history of Egypt prior to the eighteenth dynasty? What great change in the national life did its kings bring about?

12. What light do the Tel-el-Amarna letters throw upon the Palestine and Syria of their day?

13. Why is the Hebrew historian particularly interested in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties in Egypt?

14. Sketch the political adjustments of the Western Asiatic world about 2000 B.C.

15. Show that the twelfth century B.C. was a great turning point in Asiatic conditions.

16. When and how did Assyria originate? Sketch her early history until about 1000 B.C.

17. When and how were the Philistines made a part of the permanent population of Palestine? Describe them as portrayed in the Bible.

18. When did the Arameans begin to figure in the life of Syria and Palestine? What character mentioned in Genesis was most representative of them?

19. When did the Phoenicians get a foothold in Canaan? Why were their relations with Israel so uniformly friendly?

20. About when did the Hittites as a nation begin to influence the history of Palestine? Where was their seat of power? With what nation did they struggle for the

control of Palestine? What caused their loss of power and withdrawal to upper Syria before Joshua's day?

21. Who were the earliest settlers of Canaan of whom there is any trace? When did the Amorites enter the country? If the Canaanites are to be counted as a second group of Semitic immigrants, when did they enter?

22. How early in history was Palestine an object of desire on the part of Babylonian sovereigns? Why did they wish to control or influence so distant a country?

23. What three little peoples on the outskirts of Palestine were regarded as having kinship with the Hebrews, but were rarely in relations of amity with them?

24. What little peoples can be mentioned which were incorporated into Israel?

25. With great and powerful empires within striking distance of Palestine, how did the kingdom of united Israel come to have several undisturbed centuries in which to grow?

26. What two great periods of the development of the Hebrew race have been covered in this study?

27. Assuming 2000 B.C. as the approximate date of Abraham's departure, how many centuries have been spanned?

28. Into what six significant stages may this history be divided?

29. Inasmuch as the Hebrews were in intimate contact from the beginning with kindred Semitic peoples and surrounded by them, how may one account for the uniqueness of their development?

30. What are the outstanding differences between the Semitic traditions of the beginnings of the world as other Semites told them and as the Hebrews told them?

31. What distinctive use did the Biblical writers make of these traditions?

32. What is the element of greatest value to you in Genesis 1-11?

33. What are the strictly historical data given us by the patriarchal narratives of Genesis 12-50?

34. Characterize the portraiture of each great leader.

35. What social type of life was exhibited by these ancestors of the Hebrews?
36. What probable advantages came to the Israelites by reason of the sojourn in Egypt?
37. What did Moses do for his people?
38. Why were the Hebrews so slow in electing a king and developing a kingdom?
39. What forced them to begin the monarchy?
40. Why was David better adapted to the real work of organization than Saul?
41. Compare the four stages of monarchical growth: under Gideon and Abimelech, under Saul, under David and under Solomon.
42. Of the many personalities described in these ten books of the Old Testament, indicate five to whom you would assign the first rank as worthy of recognition as one of the world's great minds, five who rank as men of exceptional but not supreme ability and five who were leaders of merely local importance.
43. Think back through these ten books of the Bible and mention the two books to which you would assign the highest rank as literature. Select also the ten passages of greatest literary merit.
44. Select ten passages which throw a vivid light upon the social usages of these centuries.
45. Formulate in mind the social difference between the Hebrews of the desert and the Hebrews of Canaan.
46. Trace the religious growth of the people from the days of Abraham in respect to their ideas of God and of His worship.
47. When do you understand that the Hebrews began to feel that they were a people with a destiny?
48. Who was, humanly speaking, most helpful in giving them this impression?
49. Prior to 1000 B.C., what influences helped the Hebrew people to make religion a great reality in life and to develop increasingly higher religious ideals?
50. What practical values does the study of this history have for the diligent student?

THE AGE OF RIPENING MATURITY:
ISRAEL'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ETHICAL
AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

THE AGE OF RIPENING MATURITY: ISRAEL'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

From the Disruption to the Babylonian Exile. 937-586 B.C. (First and Second Kings and Nine Prophetical Books.)

(226) The three centuries and a half between the end of Solomon's reign and the Exile of Judah were, on the whole, the most important, as also the most brilliant period in the history of the Israelitish people. It was a time of rapid transformation. The people of the days of Jeremiah were direct descendants of the subjects of Rehoboam and Asa, but they lived in a world which was practically new. From being a people of limited experience and a provincial habit of mind, they grew into a cultured, wide-visioned nation, originating sound and progressive religious ideas and planning for them world-wide acceptance. The experiences through which they went, bitter and splendid alike, served to quicken the power of Israel's representative men to appreciate and interpret the plans of God. Those tendencies to strict monotheism which were innate in the worship of Jehovah had an opportunity to develop. The primitive animism of which Israel's reverence for holy objects left an occasional trace and the aggressive heathenism of Canaan, which the nation drew into itself by the incorporation of its earlier inhabitants, each came to be estimated in its true light as an obstacle to pure worship and to be attacked by Jehovah's representatives and put under the ban. The higher and finer side of the religion of Jehovah received increasingly adequate expression. Men of great religious genius led the people in the formation of right ideals, not without opposition and reverses, but with much success. Kings, nobles, priests, prophets, men of wisdom, poets, gradually discovered their relative responsibilities and built up a balanced social and religious

life of a high order. The representative thinkers of the last century and a half of this period were men whose judgment commands respect today on questions of life.

(227) **The Chronology of the Age.** With this age we reach a reasonable certainty on details of chronology due in part to the existence of court officials whose records were available to those who produced the writings on which the student of today relies, and in part to Assyrian practise. The Hebrews were not much concerned, as a people, with such details. They had no national scheme of chronology until the seventh century (§ 308). Such an estimate as that in I Kings 6: 1 was probably reached by editorial computation. They were satisfied to estimate the date of events in the proper year of the reigning king (II Kings 18: 10, 13). From such data, which must have been reasonably abundant, the writers of Kings were able to work out the synchronistic estimates, which date the accession of each king by the regnal year of his contemporary of the other kingdom (I Kings 16: 29). In reducing the resulting estimates to exact dates, one must reckon with the Hebrew habit of treating a fraction of a year as a whole year, or of ignoring it altogether, and with the possibility of errors of transmission.

The exact dates given in this volume are reasonably reliable. They represent, however, no more than the best judgment of a group of students who have compared the Biblical estimates with those available in the Assyrian records of this same period. The Assyrians developed a chronological system which their scribes kept with painstaking regularity. Their chronological records are thus of great value as a check on the Hebrew records.

(228) **The Books of Kings.** The source of greatest value for the history of these three and a half centuries is the two books of Kings. As in the case of the books of Samuel they were originally one book. In structure and method they recall the book of Judges. The author adopted a fixed method of beginning and ending the story of each reign (I Kings 15: 25, 26, 31), which makes his work seem more orderly and precise than that of the

author of Samuel. Within this framework, which indicated the date of accession, the length of the reign, an estimate of royal character and policy and, usually, the source of information regarding the king, the author or editor, who was probably a contemporary of Jeremiah or of Ezekiel, placed his actual statements concerning the reign. These were brief or extended according to the data available or, better, according to his judgment of their relative value. The story of Solomon's reign covers eleven chapters; the equally long reign of Jeroboam II is described in seven verses (II Kings 14:23-29), and the longer reign of Manasseh in eighteen (21:1-18). In historical interest the three were not so unequal.

The author of Kings had at least five earlier works which he used as sources of information. Three he mentions by name, the Annals of the Kings of Israel (I Kings 15:31), the Annals of the Kings of Judah (I Kings 15:23), and the Book of the Acts of Solomon (I Kings 11:41). Besides these there must have been a prophetic history and a Temple chronicle. From these sources the author drew with freedom, using what suited his purpose. We may assume that he was a prophet, because the marked purpose of his work was to rouse his countrymen to a sense of the moral interpretation of their past history and of their consequent duty.

(229) **The Books of Chronicles.** A parallel account of these reigns written by a group of priests who were chiefly interested in the history of the Temple and in matters of ecclesiastical importance is given in the books of Chronicles, which with Ezra and Nehemiah formed, originally, one continuous work. Its date is generally placed about 300 B.C. As a history Chronicles is inferior in value to Kings because of its narrower circle of interests and its tendency to idealize those who had to do with the Temple or with Judah. The greater part of the reliable data concerning the history proper is taken from Kings.

(230) **The Prophetic Books and Other Sources.** The historical narratives are wonderfully supplemented by the prophetic utterances of these centuries. Nine

prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, shared in the life of the people, and contributed to their social, moral and religious growth. The records of their activity throw much light upon the conditions of the time.

The important inscriptions and records of Assyria and Babylonia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine are invaluable sources of knowledge. They help in many ways to interpret and supplement the Hebrew records. Of these the most abundant and convincing are those of the Assyrian kings. There are in existence a few Palestinian records, such as the Moabite Stone, and a profusion of Hittite records. These last are beginning to yield their secrets, but they belong mainly to an age preceding that of active Hebrew history. Palestine is now being carefully explored with the probability of discoveries of great value.

(231) **The Causes of the Disruption.** The two outstanding causes of the revolt of the northern tribesmen against Rehoboam were their growing discontent over the drain of men and money needed to execute Solomon's ambitious projects and the amazing short-sightedness of the young king. But back of these immediate incitements were several important contributing causes. Both David and Solomon were suspected of favoritism toward the south. The leading northern tribe, Ephraim, had lost its preëminence to Judah. There were real geographical and racial differences between the north and south, which had never been obliterated. The northern tribesmen were very independent and ready to experiment. The prophets, too, seemed to favor their hopes.

The Septuagint or Greek Old Testament intimates that Rehoboam succeeded without opposition to the throne, but went to Shechem, after a while, to receive the homage of his northern subjects. Under the leadership of Jeroboam, who had returned from Egypt, the northern tribes requested a lightening of their burdens. The foolish royal youth not only insulted his free people, but chose as his messenger in dealing with his disloyal subjects the most hated man in his dominions. The result was inevitable.

(232) **The Results of the Disruption.** The outcome of the successful revolt was a division of the strong, self-protecting kingdom of Solomon into two little monarchies,* but slightly superior in power to those round about. Judah was very small in size, but was well protected by nature from attack. She retained Jerusalem and the Temple, the dynasty of David and a conservative habit of mind. Israel, as the northern kingdom rather boldly called itself, had five times the territory, a far more fertile and wealthy country, double the population, three popular sanctuaries (I Kings 12: 29; Amos 4: 4) and great self-reliance.† Of the two, as they developed, Israel was the pioneering, progressive, experimenting national group; Judah could be relied upon to be conservative and watchful. Israel's situation made her more sensitive to outside influences than Judah, and likewise made her political life less stable. The splendid Temple, the unbroken dynasty and her sheltered situation were powerful factors for Judah's peace.

VIII

THE CENTURY OF CONFLICT AND ALLIANCE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JUDAH AND THEIR JOINT REACTION TO PHOENICIAN BAALISM. 937-842 B.C. (I Kings 12-II Kings 10)

(233) The first century of the existence of the separated Israelitish kingdoms was tragically concluded by the execution of a king of each line on the same day (II Kings 9: 24, 27). During this century the interests of the kingdoms were mainly local. Their inveterate hostility, maintained for sixty years, altered at last to a friendly alliance, strengthened by the intermarriage of the reigning houses. The century witnessed two religious movements. On the one hand Canaanitish heathenism gained much headway in Judah only to be suppressed by Asa; on the other

* See the map, "The Divided Kingdom," facing page 80.

† Compare the two lower maps facing page 80 and the upper left-hand map facing page 146

Phoenician Baalism, a far more dangerous form of anti-Jehovistic religion, was introduced by Jezebel, requiring a prophetic agitation and a dynastic revolution to drive it out again. In spite of these movements and, perhaps, because of them, the prevailing religious tendency of the century was upward. At its close the Israelitish people had practically settled the question of their allegiance to Jehovah.

The sovereigns of each kingdom with their approximate dates are given below. Added together the Biblical estimates for the two lines of kings vary by three years, one totalling ninety-five years, the other ninety-eight. To make them balance, three years are arbitrarily deducted from the twelve years assigned to Jehoram of Israel (II Kings 3: 1).

JUDAH	937	ISRAEL		ASSYRIA
Rehoboam 937-920		Jeroboam I, 937-915	} First Dynasty	
Abijam, 920-917		Nadab, 915-913		
Asa, 917-876		Baasha, 913-889	} Second Dynasty	Ashurnazirpal, 884-853
		Elah, 889-887		
		Zimri, a week	Third Dynasty	
		Omri, 887-875	} Fourth Dynasty	Shalmaneser III 858-824
Jehoshaphat, 876-851		Ahab, 875-853		
		Ahaziah, 853-851		
Jehoram, 851-843		Jehoram, 851-842		
Ahaziah, 843-842				
	842			

1. THE HALF CENTURY OF PETTY WARFARE BETWEEN THE TWO KINGDOMS. (I Kings 12: 1-16: 28.)

The national assembly at Shechem to confirm Rehoboam as king and its plea for relief. 12: 1-5.

Rehoboam's fatuous reply to the assembly's demand. 12: 6-15.

The entire renunciation of allegiance by the "ten tribes." 12: 16-20.

Shemaiah's counsel to Rehoboam to forego civil warfare. 12: 21-24.

How Jeroboam made the northern kingdom religiously independent. 12: 25-33.

How his attitude was variously rebuked. 13: 1-14: 18.

His long reign. 14: 19, 20.

How Rehoboam permitted Baalism and was plundered by Shishak of Egypt and warred continually with Jeroboam. 14: 21-31.

The short reign of Abijam over Judah. 15: 1-8; II Chron. 13.

How Asa reformed the religious situation in Judah but made a questionable alliance against Baasha of Israel with Benhadad. 15: 9-24; II Chron. 14-16.

The brief reign of Nadab over Israel. I Kings 15: 25-28, 31.

The vigorous reign of Baasha over Israel. 15: 29, 30, 32-16: 7.

The short reign of Elah over Israel. 16: 8-14.

The reign of Zimri for one week. 16: 15-20.

Omri's choice of Samaria as a capital and his reign. 16: 21-28.

(234) These chapters recount the measures taken by Jeroboam I to complete the separation between the kingdoms, the misfortunes of Judah and the steady warfare of the rival kings. Chapters 15 and 16 offer striking illustrations of the stereotyped method of relating history adopted by the compilers of Kings, while chapters 13 and 14 contribute rather late prophetic stories critical of Jeroboam, quite in contrast with the record of the earlier approval of the prophets Ahijah (11: 29-38) and Shemaiah (12: 21-24). Note carefully Jeroboam's measures to prevent any return of his people to Rehoboam or Jerusalem (12: 26-33), the breaking down of religious standards in Judah under Rehoboam and Abijam (14: 22-24; 15: 2-5), the vigorous reform policy of Asa in Judah (15: 9-15), his circumvention of the ambitious policy of Baasha of Israel (15: 16-23), the seven days dynasty of Zimri (16: 8-20), the able reign of Omri and his new capital (16: 21-28), the constant warfare and its final termination (14: 30; 15: 6, 16; 22: 44).

(235) **Jeroboam's Separative Policy.** In setting up the golden bulls at Bethel and Dan it is improbable that Jeroboam was consciously disloyal to Jehovah. He was certainly unspiritual in temperament. Such a move seemed to him very shrewd. His desire was to popularize the two sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan, so that his people would never care to go to Jerusalem to worship. His shifting of the date of the great harvest festival and his appointment of priests on a basis of fitness or merit, rather than of birth or tribal relationship, may have emphasized this independence of Jerusalem. At any rate, these measures were very effective in isolating Judah (compare II Chron. 11: 13-17). For the next

half century or more, there is no evidence that the northern tribesmen took the slightest interest in Jerusalem or the Temple.

(236) **The Moral and Political Weakness of Rehoboam.** The disruption left Rehoboam and his people almost at the mercy of any invader. The northern boundary of the kingdom was just a little north of Jerusalem. Had Jeroboam not been so busied with the organization of his new realm, he might have invaded Judah with fair assurance of success. To crown the misfortunes of Rehoboam, the reigning Pharaoh of the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty invaded Judah and despoiled the Temple and palace of their treasures. (14: 25-28.) Rehoboam substituted shields of bronze for the captured golden shields and kept up the wonted ceremonial. The records give the impression that Rehoboam was a weak character, liking the palace and the harem (II Chron. 11: 21) better than the battlefield, and paying little heed to the revival of the worst features of Canaanitish heathenism, patronized by members of the royal family (I Kings 14: 23, 24). His long reign marked nothing but decadence, and, despite the Chronicler's praise (II Chron. 13), that of his son, Abijam (Abijah), was no improvement.

Solomon's religious hospitality (I Kings 11: 1b, 2, 5, 7) may have opened the way for this apparently backward movement, but no student should lose sight of the fact that Judah and Israel alike had a population of which a good share were still Canaanitish by blood and heritage, and ready to share in the orgiastic revelries of the old days. Not until the Exile were these tendencies eradicated.

(237) **The Strong Reign of Asa.** Asa's long reign over Judah restored the balance of affairs. He had a vigorous personality. He dared to clear away from Judah the heathenish practices so persistent among the peasantry and to discipline the queen mother for her participation and leadership (I Kings 15: 12, 13). He took steps, which we cannot fully explain, to honor the Temple (15: 15), and was apparently successful in attracting to its worship some of the purer souls in Israel (II Chron. 15: 9-13).

According to Chronicles, he administered a crushing defeat to Zerah, the Cushite (II Chron. 14:9-15), who was probably an Arab chieftain rather than an Ethiopian of Africa (II Chron. 14:15). Asa was constantly at war (15:16) with Baasha, his northern contemporary. Baasha gained a great advantage by fortifying Ramah, a city which stood at the intersection of the great highways of travel, north and south, east and west. Thus Asa was effectually cut off from trade. He retaliated, with more cleverness than statesmanship, by hiring Benhadad, the Aramean king at Damascus, to attack Baasha's dominions and compel him to withdraw his forces from Ramah. No sooner had the withdrawal taken place than Asa destroyed the fortress and built two strongholds of his own, one at Geba, which controlled the main road from the Jordan to the Maritime Plain, the other at Mizpah on the frontier. Asa's kingdom was not yet able to stand against its sister kingdom, but he added to its strength in a way which his son, Jehoshaphat, sustained.

(238) **The Third Dynasty of Israel.** It seems almost ridiculous to call the seven days' reign of Zimri a dynasty, but so it is counted by the Hebrew historian. Zimri is accorded as careful a statement as any other king (16:15-20). He lived but a week after he murdered his master (II Kings 9:31), did not leave the city of Tirzah, and in no true sense could have been a responsible sovereign.

(239) **The Founding of Samaria.** With the seizure of the throne of Israel by Omri, another ruler, who was also a statesman, dealt with Palestinian affairs in shrewd, wise fashion. He abandoned Tirzah, which had been the capital since Jeroboam's day (I Kings 15:21, 33), and founded a new capital, Samaria, which quickly became a city of leading importance. It was built on an isolated hill, three-quarters of a mile in length, descending precipitously for several hundred feet on three sides into a broad valley. When surrounded by a strong wall, the city was practically impregnable. The view from its battlements was far-ranging and beautiful. Samaria was reason-

ably central in location, and well adapted in every way for its purposes. It disputed Jerusalem's fame during the next century and a half, and greatly exceeded her in resources and leadership. Ezekiel (23:4) called Samaria the elder of two sisters, by which he must have meant the more influential.

2. THE ALLIANCE OF OMRI'S DYNASTY WITH PHOENICIA AND JUDAH AND THE RELIGIOUS CONSEQUENCES.

(I Kings 16:29-34; 18:4, 13, 18; 19:1, 2; 20-22;
Micah 6:16)

Ahab's fateful marriage with Jezebel. 16:29-34.

Their anti-prophetic activity. 18:4, 13, 18; 19:1, 2.

Benhadad's unsuccessful campaign against Israel. 20:1-21.

His second, severe defeat by Ahab who treated him leniently. 20:22-34.

Ahab's denunciation for this leniency by a prophet. 20:35-43.

The period of peace with Damascus (and battle of Qarqar, §251). 22:1.

Ahab's proposal to Jehoshaphat to recapture Ramoth-gilead. 22:2-12.

The bold forecast of the prophet Micaiah. 22:13-28.

The death of Ahab in the battle. 22:29-40.

Jehoshaphat's glorious reign over Judah: his reforms, enterprise, educational activity, and prosperity. 22:41-50; II Chron. 17-20.

(240) These passages describe the general policy of Omri's dynasty and its dealings with Judah. Note Omri's alliance with Ethbaal of Zidon, cemented by the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel (16:31), the religious consequences of this union (16:32, 33; 18:4, 13, 18; 19:2), the attitude of the prophets (18:17, 18), the incident of Naboth (21), Ahab's successful wars (20), his alliance with Jehoshaphat (22:1-4, 44) and the latter's long and prosperous reign over Judah (22:41-50. Compare II Chron. 19:4-11).

Chapters 20-22 are choice literature, stories ably told, full of the life and thought of that day.

(241) **Omri's Policy of Alliance.** Omri was a soldier and gave much of his energy to warfare. After uniting all factions in his own dominions (16:21, 22), and, probably, dealing with the Philistines (16:17), he reasserted Israel's dominance over Moab, according to the unimpeachable testimony of the Moabite Stone, discovered in 1868 at Dibon. Mesha, the contemporary

of Ahab (II Kings 3: 4, 5), set it up to commemorate the deliverance of his people from this yoke. In relations with his northern foes, Omri was less fortunate. The king of Aram forced him to conclude a humiliating peace. (20: 34.) Just at the close of Omri's reign, the savage, relentless Assyrian sovereign, Ashurnazirpal, made his unchallenged way to the slopes of the Lebanon and there received gifts from several Palestinian peoples. From that day forth, the Assyrian policy was clear. The aggressive successors of Ashurnazirpal believed that the western people cared more for their commerce than for their liberty and determined to master them.* Omri revealed his capacity as a ruler by making wise alliances with the kingdoms most closely related to his own. Following time-honored policy, these alliances were cemented by intermarriages. Probably Omri had chiefly in mind the commercial and defensive advantages which would result from such arrangements, but there were other results which were very detrimental.

(242) **The Religious Results.** The son of Omri, Ahab, was married to Jezebel, the Sidonian princess. Jezebel was a remarkable woman, masterful, loyal to her inherited convictions and ambitious to advance the interests of her people. The Baalism she introduced was far more dangerous than the inherited Baalism of Canaan. The Phoenician Baal was a rival of Jehovah. The advancement of his worship involved the relaxation of national loyalty to Jehovah. Had Jezebel been contented with a sanctuary, however splendid, for her own use, and for her household, the prophets might not have interfered, since such an arrangement was often allowed as an act of international courtesy. When she began an aggressive campaign against Jehovah worship, they, too, declared war. Both parties recognized the contest as vital, to be terminated only by the absolute victory of one contestant. Through the marriage of Jezebel's daughter, Athaliah, to the son of Jehoshaphat, the campaign extended into Judah also, since the daughter was like her

* For the situation as he left it see the first map facing page 146.

mother. Evidently at the outset neither Omri nor Jehoshaphat realized the religious dangers of these two satisfactory alliances.

(243) The Splendid Reign of Jehoshaphat over Judah.

Under Jehoshaphat the good start given by Asa to Judah's prosperity was continued. Jehoshaphat kept strict faith with Ahab, the son of Omri (I Kings 22: 4), and with his son (II Kings 3: 7), but in many ways he showed himself a ruler of independence (I Kings 22: 48, 49) and of insight (I Kings 22: 7; II Kings 3: 12). The prophets respected him (II Kings 3: 14). The Chronicler gives a glowing account (II Chron. 17) of his regulation and stimulation of the religious life of his people. He seems to have taken his responsibilities seriously and to have given his kingdom a great uplift.

(244) The Literary Activity of this Age. Three important literary achievements are generally credited to the orderliness and zeal of these days of Judean development. The Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20: 22-23: 19) may well have been that "book of the law of Jehovah" (II Chron. 17: 9), which the priests taught to Jehoshaphat's people. As noted in §§ 125, 127 it appears to be the simplest and earliest codification of the laws, religious, social and criminal, recognized in the Hebrew kingdoms and enforced at their sanctuaries. Some authorities date it about 750 B.C. The fine, ethical narratives of the days of Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon, which were, later on, incorporated in the books of Samuel and Kings, were surely written at no later date than this. The greatest work of the period, however, was that of the unknown prophet of Judah who prepared for his people that wonderful history of his race from the time of creation to which the second chapter of Genesis introduced us. This was the first "Bible before the Bible" (§ 32), the oldest history of the Hebrews, a clear, consistent record of the national development down to the accession of Solomon. Its vividness and concreteness, its patriotism and fervor, its fine poetic power and profound religious insight, its fine historic sense and noble interpretation of Israel's

history gave it an immediate importance. Whether it was written by one prophet or by a group, whether in Jehoshaphat's day or fifty years afterward are purely matters of conjecture. It almost certainly should be credited to the ninth century, B.C. It is universally referred to as the Judean history, "J." To gain some idea of its important relationship to our existing Genesis the following outline may be considered:

Man's creation and fall. Gen. 2: 4b to 3: 24.
 Lamech the ancestor of nomads, musicians and smiths. 4: 19-24.
 Cain the first murderer. 4: 1-16a.
 The story of the flood. 6: 1-8; 7: 1-12, 17, 22, 23; 8: 6a-13b, 20-22.
 Noah the first vineyard keeper. 9: 20-27.
 The tower of Babel. 11: 1-9.
 Abraham's migration to Canaan. 12: 1-4a, 6-9.
 His separation from Lot. 13: 2-12.
 The birth of Ishmael. 16: 1-16.
 The promise to Sarah of a son. 18: 1-15.
 The destruction of Sodom. 18: 16 to 19: 28.
 The origin of Moab and Ammon. 19: 30-38.
 The wooing of Rebekah. 24: 1-67.
 The birth of Jacob and Esau. 25: 27-34.
 Jacob's purchase of the birthright. 25: 27-34.
 His trick to secure Isaac's blessing. 27: 1-10, 14-15, 17-20, 24-33a, 35-45.
 Jacob's dream at Bethel. 28: 10, 13-16, 19.
 His meeting with Rachel. 29: 2-14.

It will be seen that "J," although simple, and un-studied, supplied much of the attractiveness and the religious impression of Genesis.

3. THE PROPHETIC REFORM LED BY ELIJAH AND COMPLETED BY ELISHA AND JEHU.

(I Kings 17-II Kings 10)

A drought announced by Elijah the prophet. I Kings 17.
 Jehovah's vindication on Mount Carmel. 18.
 The revelation to Elijah at Horeb. 19: 1-18.
 The call of Elisha. 19: 19-21.
 The murder of Naboth denounced. 21.
 Micaiah and the four hundred false prophets. 22: 1-28.
 Ahaziah's brief reign over Israel. 22: 51-53; II Kings 1.
 The translation of Elijah. 2.
 Jehoram's reign over Israel. 3: 1-3.
 How Elisha miraculously provided for need. 4: 1-7, 38-44, 6: 1-7.
 His restoration to life of the son of the lady of Shunem. 4: 8-37.
 The healing of Naaman the leper. 5.

Elisha, the national bulwark. 6: 8-23.

The siege and deliverance of Samaria. 6: 24 to 7: 20.

Jehoram's reign over Judah. 8: 16-24.

The joint expedition of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah against Ramoth-Gilead. 8: 25-29.

The revolution led by Jehu. 9: 1 to 10: 28.

(245) These fascinating narratives from prophetic annals record the great popular struggle over Baalism and the outstanding leaders of that contest. They make Elijah, Elisha and Micaiah, Ahab, Jehoshaphat, Jezebel and Jehu living personalities, and shed a brilliant light on this crucial epoch and its bloody termination. The outline above will assist the student to distinguish the two Jehorams and the two Ahaziahs. "Joram" (8: 21-29; 9: 14-28) is a shortened form of Jehoram.

(246) **The Elijah and Elisha Stories.** One of the finest sections of the Old Testament is these chapters which recount the stories that the people loved to repeat concerning their great prophetic leaders. They are of very great value as illustrations of the social, religious, moral and political ideas of the time. Some of the narratives are remarkable as literature, both of a dramatic type (I Kings 18, 20; II Kings 5, 7, 9), and of a spiritual type (I Kings 19; II Kings 4; 6: 8-23). The portraits of the masterful queen, of the great lady of Shunem, of Naaman, of the honest and fearless prophet, Micaiah, of Benhadad, Hazael and Jehu are inimitable.

(247) **The Prophetic Order.** These narratives bring into prominence the members of the prophetic guilds, who seem to be numerous enough to be counted by scores or hundreds (I Kings 18: 13; 22: 6; II Kings 2: 7). They were organized into brotherhoods and lived together near the sanctuaries of Bethel, Gilgal and Samaria. They served an important purpose by keeping alive the patriotism and the religious loyalty of the people. For some reason, probably because of the esteem in which they were held, there were among them many prophets who were unworthy, who looked upon their activity as an easy and profitable way of getting a living (Micah 2: 11; 3: 5). For such men, the real prophetic leaders like

Elijah, Elisha or Micaiah had only contempt. That they did not represent fairly the vast body of ordinary prophets is evidenced by the great influence which the prophetic order exerted. While maintaining some of the old customs (II Kings 3: 15) of Samuel's day, the prophets as a class seem to have steadily grown into large usefulness as popular advisors, as makers of public sentiment and as interpreters of the past. They, far more than the priesthood, furnished the educated leadership of the nation, who studied its problems and sought their wise solution.

(248) **The Great Contest at Mount Carmel.** (I Kings 18.) Even such men required leadership. They found two commanding personalities in Elijah and his great disciple. Elijah's sudden appearance was due to his conviction that a crisis had been reached in Israel's life. The ambitious policy of Ahab had committed him to an increasing compromise with influences from the outside. Queen Jezebel, a woman of extraordinary genius and force, was rapidly, and with much success, giving the worship of Baal an equal standing with that of Jehovah (I Kings 18: 4, 13; 19: 14). An ascetic of the desert, Elijah was unalterably hostile to any policy which did not maintain for Israel her absolute loyalty to Jehovah. Following the prolonged drought, which he had predicted as a judgment and warning for the people, Elijah summoned a great assembly of the people at Mount Carmel, an easily accessible gathering place with a sublime prospect on every side. Here he placed plainly before the people the choice which they must make. Impressed by his demonstration of Jehovah's power, the people declared anew their loyalty and put to death the representatives of Baalism. It was an impulsive, but a loyal act.

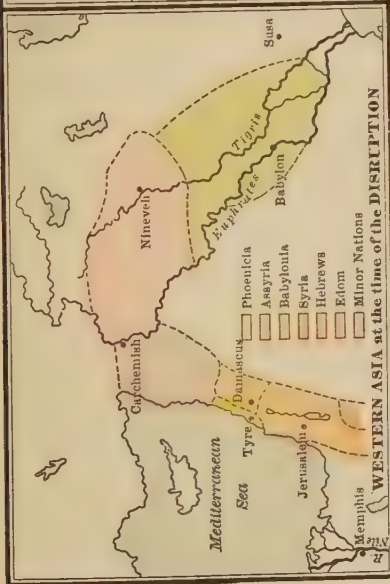
(249) **Elijah, the Reformer and Champion.** The desert-bred prophet was no match for the unscrupulous and fearless queen. He fled before her in fear and discouragement; yet he had achieved more than he realized, as God made him to know at the holy mountain. The work of conviction in the hearts of the people was sure to be slow, but it would be resistless. There were men

like Elisha who could give it increasing definiteness and force.

Elijah's strength lay in his moral convictions and absolute fearlessness. He dared to champion the civil as well as the religious rights of his people, and to denounce the guilty king to his face (I Kings 21). He taught the people of Israel that Jehovah was an upholder of righteousness. Religion might be a sort of political game to Jezebel; to him it was Israel's life. He compelled his people to realize that they could not tolerate a divided religious allegiance and remain worthy Israelites.

(250) **Ahab and Jezebel.** Jezebel was Ahab's evil spirit. Her ideas of royal prerogative and of religion, and her unbending, remorseless pursuit of her ambitions, had much to do with his failure to carry out the early promise of his career. He was brave and far-sighted. The brilliancy of his reign must be credited in part to his great father, Omri; but Ahab was a strong ruler. The very conciliatoriness toward Damascus, for which the unknown prophet denounced him (I Kings 20: 32-34, 42), appears to a historian of today an act of statesmanship. He needed Damascus, with its full strength, as a buffer state, to remain between him and Assyrian aggression. It is true, however, that he was a maker of alliances and promoter of compromises, rather than a man of principle. He thought of Elijah as an irresponsible fanatic, with one idea. Ahab's greatest weakness lay in preferring his own advantage to that of his people. Yet Biblical and Assyrian records unite to show that in the closing years of his life he played manfully a sovereign's part, not only seeking to win back the control of the frontier fortress of Ramoth-Gilead (I Kings 22), but sending in 854 B.C. a large force to assist in opposing Shalmaneser, who threatened to invade southern Syria. I Kings 22: 39 implies an active interest in his royal duties.

(251) **The Growing Menace of Assyria.** The reigning Assyrian monarch in the last years of Ahab was Shalmaneser III (860-825 B.C.), the son of Ashurnazirpal (§ 241). He was an inveterate campaigner. His prede-



cessor had made Assyria dreaded from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. He determined to conquer southward through Syria from the Amanus Mountains to the Lebanons. The present city of Aleppo was on his southern boundary in Syria. The region below was controlled, directly, or through alliances, by three principal states, Hamath, Damascus and Israel. These were more or less continually at warfare with one another, but could combine for the common defense. In 854 B.C., Shalmaneser invaded Hamath and was met at Qarqar on the river Orontes by an army to which Ahab contributed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 soldiers. The result was indecisive, but Hamath retained her identity. Twice more during Jehoram's reign Shalmaneser attacked Hamath, and was met in similar fashion. Each time Shalmaneser claimed a victory which must have been more or less hollow. In 842, after Benhadad had been replaced as king of Syria by the crafty Hazael, and Jehu was seated on Israel's throne, the persistent Assyrian tried again. Hamath appears to have submitted, and Jehu hastened to send a costly tribute, but Hazael met the Assyrian attack gallantly and succeeded in maintaining his independence. Shalmaneser III had gained little glory in these Syrian campaigns, but had inspired much fear of his cruel prowess and had established a flexible policy of conquest, which was intended to extend the rule of Assyria even to the western bounds of Egypt.* For the next two centuries this policy overshadowed Palestinian politics.

(252) **The Prophet Elisha.** It does not seem possible to place the events of Elisha's life in chronological sequence. The stories about him may have come from various sources, and seem to be arranged topically. They make clear his unusual personality. He was more gentle and gracious than Elijah, as a rule, although he, too, could be uncompromising. (II Kings 3: 13; 5: 27.) A man of the border, and interested in the warfare with Damascus, Elisha rendered much service to his king, who,

* For the empire he left see the upper, right-hand map facing page 146.

on one occasion, at least, paid a real tribute to his public influence (6:31). He was a moral bulwark of Israel, too (6:15-17), as well as the one in whom Israel trusted (13:14). He was welcomed in the homes of the people and at court, alike, and thus had the power to mould the popular ideals and accomplish the hopes of Elijah. Each prophet played an impressive and important part in Israel's history.

(253) **Jehu's Bloody Reform.** The concluding act in the great religious struggle of this century, one which brought the rival dynasties to a simultaneous close which, fortunately, in case of Judah, was only an interruption, was the revolt of Jehu at the bidding of Elisha. He was the general of the army of Israel and commanding the operations against Ramoth-Gilead. The story of his anointing by the young prophet, his cautious sounding of his fellow officers, their instant response, his ruthless and rapid execution, not alone of the supporters of Baalism, but likewise of Ahab's whole house, the leaders of Israel who had been close to him (10:11), the king and princes of Judah (10:12-14) makes vivid reading. Jehu's blind and bloody zeal outran all bounds. Although he did give a death blow to non-Israelitish Baalism, it was done in costly fashion. By these massacres, he put an end to the friendly relations with Judah and Phoenicia, and greatly weakened his kingdom. His character warrants the adverse judgment of Hosea about a century later (Hos. 1:4).

IX

THE CENTURY OF ARAM'S ASCENDANCY AND OF ASSYRIA'S MENACE, YET OF THE ATTAINMENT OF THE PEAK OF PROSPERITY AND SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS BY BOTH ISRAEL AND JUDAH. 842-740 B.C. (II Kings 10:29-15:7)

(254) The next one hundred years following the accession of Jehu divides about equally into a period of humiliating oppression at the hands of Aram and a period of rapidly growing prosperity under wise, powerful and enterprising rulers. The influences which surrounded the Hebrew people were such as to broaden their contact

with the world. They began to realize how great the world was and that its peoples were in inevitable relationship. The end of the century found them intellectually a people in touch with wide ranging affairs.

We miss the stirring prophetic narratives in these chapters, yet they are not devoid of intense human interest. The stories of the coronation of Jehoash, of the boastfulness of Amaziah and of the repair of the Temple, enliven the record. In the main, however, it is an annalistic record, which has to be supplemented from other sources.

The exact chronology of this century is beyond any historian's power to determine. Each kingdom had four sovereigns, counting Athaliah as one. The sum of the regnal years attributed to the kings of Israel is 102 years. The sum of those attributed to the sovereigns of Judah amounts to 127 years. It seems certain, however, that the close of the reign of Jeroboam II was of almost the same date as that of Uzziah. What to do with the extra twenty-five years is uncertain. The reign of Athaliah is not ignored by the editor of Kings (12:1). It is possible that the reign of Amaziah was much less than twenty-nine years (14:2). The dates indicated below are relatively correct.

JUDAH	842	ISRAEL		ASSYRIA
Athaliah, 842-836		Jehu, 842-814	} Fifth Dynasty	
Joash, 836-796 (8)				
		Jehoahaz, 814-797		
		Jehoash, 797-781		Adad-nirari IV, 811-783
Amaziah, 796 (8)-782 or 789		Jeroboam II, 781-740		
Uzziah (Azariah), 782 or 789-740				
Jotham co-regent, 751-740				Tiglath-pileser IV, 745-727
	740			

1. FIFTY YEARS OF ARAMEAN ASCENDANCY.

(II Kings 8:7-15; 10:29-13:25)

How Hazael succeeded Benhadad on Aram's throne. 8:7-15.

His conquest of Jehu's east-Jordan lands. 10:32-36.

The rescue of the infant Joash from the murderous intent of Athaliah. 11:1-3.

The dramatic downfall of the usurping queen. 11: 4-16; II Chron. 23.

The affirmation of national loyalty to Jehovah by the people of Judah and abolition of Phœnician Baalism. 11: 17-20.

The proposal to repair the temple. 11: 21-12: 6; II Chron. 24: 1-5.

How Joash promoted the delayed work of repair. 12: 7-16; II Chron. 24: 6-14.

The deterioration of Joash after Jehoiada's death. II Chron. 24: 15-22.

Hazael's threatened attack on Jerusalem avoided by a bribe. II Kings 12: 17, 18; II Chron. 24: 23, 24.

The violent death of Joash after a long reign. 12: 19-21.

The oppression of Israel and Judah by the Syrians in the days of Joash and Jehoahaz. 13: 1-3, 22; 12: 17, 18.

The humiliating weakness of Israel. 13: 7-9.

The "savior" who delivered Israel. 13: 4-6, 23.

The reign of Jehoash over Israel. 13: 10-13.

How the dying Elisha tried to arouse the ambition of Jehoash. 13: 14-19.

The growing formidableness of Israel under Jehoash. 13: 24-25; 14: 8-14.

(255) These passages describe the repeated attacks of the Aramean sovereigns of Damascus upon Israel, the usurpation of the throne of Judah by Athaliah, her dethronement and the long reign of Jehoash.

Note how Hazael ravaged Israel (8: 12; 10: 32, 33; 12: 17, 18; 13: 22; Amos 1: 3) with overwhelming success (13: 7), and how Jehoash finally reversed the situation (13: 14-19, 25). The dramatic story of Athaliah's attempt to seize and hold the throne of Judah (11: 1-16) is matched by Elisha's last interview with Jehoash (13: 14-19). The peak of Aramean oppression was reached under Jehoahaz (13: 7).

(256) **The Aramean Oppression.** Whether it was cowardice or policy which moved Jehu to send tribute to Shalmaneser III, instead of joining Hazael of Damascus in resisting the Assyrian advance, his dominions paid dearly for the act. Hazael was prompt to take vengeance. He ravaged the east-Jordan territory (10: 32, 33) as far as the Arnon. Quite possibly Amos (1: 3, 13) refers to the barbarities of this campaign. If so, he suggests that Ammon joined with Hazael, hoping for some of the coveted territory. The loss of Gilead must have been sorely felt by the northern kingdom.

Under Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, the humiliation of Israel was complete (13: 7) and Judah was saved from invasion only by the prompt submission of King Jehoash

(12:18) to Hazael. The Israelitish army was reduced to fifty cavalry, ten chariots and ten thousand infantry.

According to the Biblical narrative, Jehoash, Jehu's grandson, was enabled by some "saviour" (13:5) to take the aggressive against Benhadad III, the son of Hazael (13:25, 18, 19), and to win back some of his lost territory. It has been generally supposed that this deliverer was the Assyrian Adad-nirari, who compelled Mari, the son of Benhadad III, to capitulate and pay a heavy booty. M. Pognon, the French consul in Mesopotamia, believed, however, that the cause of the weakness of Damascus was another Aramean kingdom of Hazrak, which flourished for about fifty years. Whatever the cause Israel and Judah quickly regained their strength and more. Assyria, their foe, gave them, because of internal weakness, a respite of about forty years.

(257) Queen Athaliah's Seizure of the Throne.

Athaliah, the wife of Jehoram, was not unlike her mother, Jezebel, in pride and audacity. When Ahaziah became king, she was the queen mother, a personage of great influence. At his sudden death she seized the throne of Judah for herself, slaying, as she supposed, all the young princes. How this could take place and her reign be undisturbed for six years, may be explained by noting that she could rely upon her bodyguard of foreigners (11:4); that she did not disturb the worship at the Temple, and that she probably had a fairly strong party behind her. In the narratives Jehoiada relies on the "people of the land," who are, perhaps, intentionally contrasted with "the city." (11:20.) Athaliah was a woman of unusual capacity. It is clear that the high priest gave her no chance to interfere with the progress of the revolt which placed Joash on the throne.

(258) The Enthronement of Joash. The story of the coronation of the little boy Joash is most dramatic. The details are not absolutely clear, but are sufficiently so. The high priest, Jehoiada, whose wife was the little king's aunt, secured the support of the soldiers and relied upon the enthusiastic acceptance of the king by the

“people of the land.” The revolution was a wholesome one over which the best people rejoiced. It had a religious, no less than a political significance, and was immediately followed both by the destruction of the temple of Baal and the death of its priest, and by a solemn renewal of the national covenant with Jehovah.

(259) **His Long Reign over Judah.** The young king had a long reign. The event which does him most honor was the improvement of the Temple, which took place while he was still a young man. He found the Temple in need of repairs. He urged the priests to use the money realized by assessments upon individuals and from free will offerings (12:4) for this purpose, retaining the trespass offerings for themselves. (12:16.) Nearly half of his reign had passed without any action on the part of the priests, when the young monarch took matters into his own hands, and had the income referred to above paid directly to the contractors, who took pride in the faithful performance of the work.

After Jehoiada's death, Joash deteriorated. According to the Chronicler, he relapsed in his loyalty to Jehovah (II Chron. 24:17-19) and, when criticized by Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, he ordered that the priest be stoned to death. (24:20-22.) The Chronicler connects this dastardly deed with the expedition of Hazael, which caused Joash to strip the Temple in order to buy the invader off. (II Kings 12:17, 18.) This display of weakness led to a conspiracy which ended his life. (II Kings 12:20.)

2. THE GLORIOUS AND PROSPEROUS REIGNS OF UZZIAH AND JEROBOAM II.

(II Kings 14:1-15:7; II Chron. 26)

The reign of Amaziah like that of his father. II Kings 14:1-4.

His refusal to execute clan justice. 14:5, 6.

His successful war with Edom. 14:7, 22; II Chron. 25:5-13.

His challenge to Jehoash of Israel. 14:8-11; II Chron. 25:14-21.

How Jehoash broke down the defenses of Jerusalem and exacted a heavy ransom from Amaziah. 14:12-14.

The violent death of Amaziah. II Kings 14:15-20.

The long reign of Uzziah over Judah. 14: 21, 22; 15: 1-7; II Chron. 26: 1-5.
His schemes for the safety, prosperity, and peace of his land. 14: 22;
II Chron. 26: 6-15.

How Uzziah became stricken with leprosy. 15: 5; II Chron. 26: 16-23.

The regency of Jotham. 15: 5; II Chron. 27.

The career of Jeroboam as king of Israel. 14: 23-29.

(260) These chapters describe the reigns of Amaziah, Uzziah and Jeroboam II. It is one of the puzzles of Biblical history why such noteworthy reigns had such scant mention.

Note Amaziah's resoluteness (14: 5, 7) and the important betterment of the code of Judah he made (14: 6 compare Josh. 7: 24, 25; II Sam. 21: 1-6; II Kings 9: 26) and his disastrous but well-deserved defeat by Jehoash. Israel (14: 8-14). Dwell upon the length of the reigns of Uzziah over Judah and of Jeroboam II over Israel (14: 23; 15: 2), the nations with which Uzziah warred (II Kings 14: 22; II Chron. 26: 6-8), his equipment for warfare (II Chron. 26: 11-14) and his measures for the peace and security of his kingdom (II Chron. 26: 10, 15).

(261) **Interesting Indications of Ethical and Religious Advance.** Three items of the data recorded about this general period are worthy of recapitulation as showing progress ethically and religiously. The first is the leniency which Amaziah showed to the kinsmen of the conspirators. (14: 6.) He virtually denied the binding force of a custom to which Joshua, David and Ahab had yielded. It was a great ethical advance to deny the moral solidarity of the family or clan. Another item is the recognition by Joash of vested rights of the priesthood (12: 16). Still another is the growing popularity of the Temple and independence of its priesthood. They were bold enough and felt strong enough to assert themselves and their rights as against the whims of the king. (II Chron. 26: 16b-19.) The forces were at work which created the Jerusalem of Isaiah and Josiah.

(262) **The Rapid Prosperity of Judah.** The reign of Amaziah was promising but ended in disaster. The good judgment which he displayed in dealing with his father's murderers and in opening the highway to Elath by de-

feating Edom, stands in curious contrast to his challenge of Jehoash, which resulted in a crushing defeat, a weakened capital and his own death.

His son Uzziah had a very long and prosperous reign. Why the editor of the books of Kings virtually ignored it is a mystery. The Chronicler gives a very complete account of Uzziah's achievements. He extended the boundaries of his dominions in every available direction, southward, westward and eastward. (II Chron. 26: 6-8.) He encouraged agriculture, built towers along the desert highways for the protection of commerce (26: 10), re-equipped his army, and strongly fortified Jerusalem. (26: 9.) He gave a great impulse to business of all kinds, to building enterprises within and without the city, and to the increase of wealth. Jerusalem grew rapidly in population, resources, leadership and distinction. Its greatest danger lay in its mixed population. The descriptions of Isaiah in his earliest addresses (2: 6-9; 3: 1-5, 14, 15, 16-23) give a picture of the city which Uzziah left at his death, with its luxury and vice, its excesses and tyranny in high places, its foreigners, its crowds, its perversions of justice (5: 7), its great ladies in proud array — all the accompaniments of outward success. At the same time, the prophet thought of her as the Zion which was Jehovah's abode, great in her possibilities.

(263) **Jeroboam II of Israel.** The reign of Jeroboam II over Israel almost exactly paralleled that of Uzziah over Judah. It was equally successful, and even more glorious. Jeroboam reconquered the lost territory east of Jordan, and laid the Moabites under tribute (as implied by Amos 6: 14). He extended his authority to the gateway between the Lebanons, that marked the southern boundary of Hamath, and apparently occupied some of the territory of Damascus (14: 28). His people, freed from all outward dangers, were enabled to develop a marked prosperity, which the sermons of Amos reflect with startling clearness. Amos declares that the nobles and men of wealth and power vied in building luxurious palaces, urged on by ease-loving wives. He charges that

in their greed for wealth, they used their advantage of authority or power to make themselves rich at any cost of fairness. He claims that the rapid increase of material prosperity was blunting the national conscience. But every average Israelite was full of enthusiasm over his king and his country.

(264) **The Literature of Israel.** It is quite useless to give exact dates to writings about which we can merely conjecture. At some date within the two centuries which we have reviewed, a prophet, or group of prophets, in the northern kingdom prepared a history of the Hebrew people, which paralleled the one already mentioned (§ 244). It once was called the Elohistic History, but is generally known as the Ephraimitish History, and referred to as "E." This history began with the story of Abraham. It was full of details, traditions, customs and principles. It particularly emphasized the great personalities through whom Jehovah did His work of providential guidance for Israel. Much of the rich biographical material of the Hexateuch was taken from "E." Of the eleven chapters in Genesis (37, 39-48) which tell the story of Joseph, five-twelfths was from "E." It explains the forms and modes through which at holy places and elsewhere God revealed Himself to His people. Ethically and theologically it is superior to "J," but both were indispensable to a student of early Hebrew history. The early reign of Jeroboam II may well have inspired these men of God to attempt such a task. The alternative date would seem to be the days of Ahab.

The prophet Amos must have completed his ministry (Amos 7: 10, 11) and Hosea have begun his work before the death of Jeroboam, but the discussion of their activities is reserved for the next section.

The prophetic order in Israel very evidently gathered the sermons of their own great leaders from Amos to Micah and committed them to writing. Such preliminary work in preparation for the prophetic records as we have them now, is all that we can definitely assign to this century.

3. THE GROWING NORTHERN MENACE.

(II Kings 15:19, 20, 29)

(265) It is extremely fortunate for the student of Hebrew history that the Assyrian kings had the habit of recording their campaigns in so detailed a fashion. Otherwise, the participation of Ahab in the battle of Qarqar in 854 B.C. (§ 251), and in the confederated resistances of 849 B.C. and 846 B.C., and the tribute which Jehu hastened to forward to King Shalmaneser III, in 842 B.C., and the repeated attempts by Shalmaneser and Adad-nirari to subdue Damascus, would be unknown. When the books of Kings were put into form, Assyria had ceased to exist. Details about her campaigns may have seemed relatively unimportant.

For a comprehension of the world which Amos and Isaiah faced, and of their attitude to it, we need to review the situation in Palestine, as influenced by the great powers of the day. Ashurnazirpal, the king of Assyria, the contemporary of Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah, not only established a real empire, but set a standard of savagery and relentlessness in conquest which made the Assyrian a dreaded foe for centuries. His campaigning son, Shalmaneser III, the antagonist against whom Ahab, with the confederated kings, fought so many drawn battles, and to whom Jehu promptly proffered his submission, determined, at all costs, to win the "Westland" from Hamath to Egypt.* He left this ambition as a legacy to his successors. Adad-nirari IV of Assyria (811-783 B.C.), a contemporary of Jehoahaz and Joash of Israel, and of Mari of Damascus, repeatedly attacked northern Syria, weakened the power of Damascus, and increased Assyrian prestige in the "Westland." For the next half century, practically during the reigns of Jeroboam II, and Uzziah, the three sovereigns on the throne of Assyria were able to do little more than hold their own. They did not actually interfere with the interests or the aggressions of Israel or Judah. But the policy of the

* For the extent of his success see the two upper maps facing page 146.

empire was unchanged. An observer like Amos (Am. 5: 27; 6: 14) might not know just when it would happen, but could be sure that eventually the Assyrian would become a scourge of Israel.

The accession to the Assyrian throne in 745 B.C. of Tiglath-pileser IV, a great soldier and strong administrator, revived the policy of conquest and added that of the deportation of captives and the settlement of other peoples in the conquered districts. This policy was not entirely original, but henceforth it was consistently followed. Tiglath-pileser attacked Urartu, his only rival empire on the north and west, and broke its power. He desired to control the trade routes which passed through Syria and converged on the Mediterranean. Hence he sought to subdue the little kingdoms of Syria and Palestine. His only real rival was Egypt, a country with traditions, but no power. Isaiah well characterized her as a great promiser, but poor fulfiller (30: 7; 31: 1, 3). But a party in Palestine was inclined at times to rely upon her prowess (Isa. 30: 1-3). Hosea (9: 3) was not quite certain whether his people would be captives in Assyria or Egypt.

X

THE HALF CENTURY OF PROPHETIC REINTERPRETATION OF RELIGION AS ESSENTIALLY ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL.

ABOUT 740-686 B.C. (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 1-39 (in the main), Micah, II Kings 15: 8-20: 21, II Chron. 27-32)

(266) The period from a little before 755 B.C. to about 700 B.C. was in many respects the most important half century of Old Testament times. During it the first great step in the creation of the religious life of the world of today was taken. The prophet Amos introduced a religious renaissance, whose most important factor was a change of emphasis from ritual exactness to approvable character, as the significant expression of religion. Up to this time the Hebrew people, like other peoples around them, had thought of Jehovah as demanding worship; Amos and the other prophets insisted that He demanded

moral conduct. Such a message was not altogether new, but Amos and his colleagues gave it convincingness. The four prophets of this half century, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, have a marked unity of general viewpoint, with an equally marked variety of application. No one of them gives expression to the full-orbed religious thinking of this half century. Each contributed his especial share, Isaiah most of all. Their great insistence was that Jehovah must be thought of principally in terms of character, that His approval and blessing of His people rested on that basis, and that His sphere of influence and interest was the whole world of humankind.

This half century included, just before its close, one of the events of great importance in human history, the deliverance of the beleaguered city of Jerusalem, through the sudden wasting by pestilence of the army of Sennacherib (II Kings 19: 35, 36) in 701 B.C. The many-sided significance of that relief is discussed below (§298).

(267) The sources drawn upon for information are of unusual value. The book of Amos is essentially a first-hand record. Hosea is equally so, although the thought is less connected and intelligible. The book of Micah seems to include chapters which date later than this half century, but the pertinent material is of great importance. Isaiah 1-39 includes some chapters of later date, and requires much rearrangement of the order of the chapters which relate to the days of Isaiah's active ministry, but throws a brilliant light upon the age. The chapters of Second Kings contain short notices regarding the kings and their reigns, taken from the annals of Israel and Judah (15: 8 to 16: 9; 17: 1-6), an extract, possibly, from the Temple records (16: 10-18), the editor's summing up of the history of northern Israel (17: 7-23), his explanation of the origin of the Samaritans (17: 24-41), and a stirring account, in the noblest prophetic style, of Sennacherib's invasion (18: 13 to 19: 37), preceded by data from the Judean annals (18: 1-12), and followed by extracts from a collection of stories about Isaiah (20). Out of all these, aided by the records of Tiglath-pileser,

Shalmaneser, Sargon and Sennacherib, we can construct today a narrative which clears up many of the uncertainties of the Old Testament record.

(268) The chronology of the period is puzzling. Assuming that Jeroboam II died in 740 B.C., a date which must be approximately correct, the total number of years allotted by the Biblical record to the six kings who followed him on the throne of Israel, is forty-two years. But Samaria fell in 721 B.C. Probably the ten years of Menahem and the twenty years of Pekah are round numbers, intended to indicate unknown but relatively brief periods. Ahaz was on the throne in 735 B.C. Hezekiah came to the throne about 715, if 18:13 is correct and 18:9 is not. Jotham's sixteen years (15:33) can only be given him by supposing that most of them were years of the regency (15:5). The following table is, at best, a conjectural adjustment, taking all data into account.

JUDAH	740	ISRAEL		ASSYRIA
Uzziah to 740		Zechariah and Shallum, 740 B.C.	Sixth Dynasty	
Jotham, 740-735		Menahem, 740-736	Seventh Dynasty	
Ahaz, 735-715?		Pekahiah, 736-735	Eighth Dynasty	
		Pekah, 735-732	Ninth Dynasty	Shalmaneser V, 727-722
		Hoshea, 732-722-1		
		The downfall of Samaria, 722-1		Sargon II, 722-705
Hezekiah, 715-686				
Isaiah dramatically	blocks the proposed revolt against Sargon, 711.			
	710			
Merodach-baladan's embassy, 705				
Sennacherib's first invasion, 701				Sennacherib, 705-681
Sennacherib's second invasion, 689				
Hezekiah's reform measures, 688, or about 700				
	686			

1. THE MESSAGES OF AMOS (c.745 B.C.) AND HOSEA (c.745-735 B.C.) TO NORTHERN ISRAEL.

(269) **The Book of Amos.** This is the earliest complete portion of the Bible which we may read today substantially as it was first put into writing over twenty-six centuries ago. The following outline will serve to guide the student in reading it intelligently. The portions

bracketed are probably later additions to the original utterances of Amos.

[The superscription of the editor. 1: 1.]

The prophet's text: Jehovah's voice is uplifted in judgment. 1: 2.

Jehovah must punish Israel's seven neighbor nations for their cruelty, greed, inhumanity, and disobedience. 1: 3-2: 5.

Israel will be likewise held responsible for injustice, oppression, uncharity, greed, and the suppression of truth. None can escape the Divine wrath. 2: 6-16.

Israel's relationship to Jehovah makes it the more necessary for Amos to denounce her. 3: 1-8.

Samaria's corruption would shock a Philistine or an Egyptian. Her punishment will be terribly severe. 3: 9-15.

Her great ladies, so frivolous and extravagant, will march away as captives. 4: 1-3.

Israel's religion is but transgression. She has ignored Jehovah's many hints to repent: hunger, drought, the locust, a pestilence. Be warned! The judgment will be sweeping. 4: 4-5: 3.

Israel might repent, but has gone too far in selfish wickedness. 5: 4-17.

The day of Jehovah will not be a day of deliverance but of bitter exile. 5: 18-27.

Those who persist in social selfishness are doomed. They will vainly seek Jehovah. 6: 1-14; 8: 4-14.

Five visions of Israel's impending fate: the locust plague, the devouring fire, the wall out of plumb, the over-ripe fruit, and the shattered altar. 7: 1-9; 8: 1-3; 9: 1-4.

Amaziah's attempt to expel Amos and the prophet's reply. 7: 10-17.

Jehovah's inescapable judgment. 9: 5-8a.

[The scattering in exile will, however, be but a sifting out of the good grain. Eventually the Davidic dynasty will be supreme, and returned Israel will be prosperous and happy. 9: 8b-15.]

(270) **The Prophet Amos.** Amos was a native of Tekoa in Judah (1: 1; 7: 12). He delivered this stern message to the people of the northern kingdom during the last decade of the splendid reign of Jeroboam II. He was a shepherd or small farmer (1: 1; 7: 14, 15). Jerusalem and Hebron were not far away, and Bethel only twenty-five miles distant. To dispose of his wool, he may often have visited these larger places, where he could observe the conditions of life on which he comments and could hear of the outside world. The luxury, injustice, and evil-doing of the social world of his day seemed terribly wrong to him. He pondered over the contrasts between Jehovah's expectations and the public life of his people, until the impulse to point out the danger and give a warning became irresistible. He spoke to

Israel rather than to Judah, because the kindred nation was nearing a crisis. At some great popular festival he delivered publicly a series of brief, pointed sermons which must have searched the hearts of his listeners.

(271) **His Message to Israel.** Amos assumed that Jehovah is Israel's God (3: 2). He has guided His people providentially (2: 9). The land of the Hebrews is hallowed by His presence (7: 17). Jehovah is distinctively a righteous Being, who cannot overlook the social sins which wreck society and counteract religion. He values righteousness, exhibited in deeds of goodness and justice far beyond a profusion of feasts, pilgrimages or offerings. But Israel is hopelessly corrupt, shamelessly wicked, persistently defiant. Warnings have been ignored (4: 6-10; 7: 1-9) and repentance is unlikely. The end seems near (8: 1-3). Jehovah cannot condone such persistency in evil. As the guardian of the moral order of the world (1: 3; 9: 7), He will bring upon Israel a complete and irremediable destruction (9: 8a) through the invasion of an army from the north (6: 14; 5: 27).

Amos was a man of few but great ideas. The worship of a corrupt heart he declared unacceptable to God. This registered a fresh start in religious thinking.

(272) **The Book of Hosea.** Hosea's prophetic utterances are far less intelligible than those of Amos, due, probably, to the poor condition of the Hebrew text, but the trend of thought can be followed with the aid of the outline. There are two distinct sections, chapters 1-3 and chapters 4-14. No logical arrangement is discernible.

[The superscription of the editor. 1: 1.]

Hosea under divine direction marries an unchaste woman by whom he has three children, whose names convey God's attitude of severe displeasure with Israel. 1: 2-9.

[In due time Israel shall be restored to favor. 1: 10-2: 1.]

Israel, equally faithless to her husband, Jehovah, must be given a disciplinary experience. 2: 2-13.

But Jehovah will woo her back to faithfulness and loyalty. 2: 14-23.

Yet as Gomer had to be disciplined in seclusion, so Israel will have to be disciplined by exile. 3: 1-5.

The flagrant, incurable, blunderingly stubborn wickedness of Israel. 4: 1-19.

So great is Israel's ignorance and wilfulness that the impending judgment of Jehovah cannot be averted. 5: 1-14.

Realizing her plight, Israel may express repentance, but it will be superficial and useless; Jehovah demands real goodness and knowledge, but Israel's corruption is deep-seated and universal, most of all at court. 5: 15-7: 7.

She has no consistent policy; she is insincere and faithless; her men-made kings are impotent; her national life is decadent. 7: 8-8: 14.

Exile, the destruction of her idolatrous shrines, and an invasion of armies shall be her lot. 9: 1-10: 15.

Jehovah has been a loving, tender Father and humane Master to Israel; she is ungrateful, yet He passionately longs to forgive her. 11: 1-11.

She has basely requited His love and care. 11: 12-12: 14.

Her idolatry and her forgetfulness of Jehovah are the just causes of her decay and ruin. 13: 1-16.

Israel, repent of your iniquity and pray Jehovah to show you His loving-kindness. 14: 1-3.

His answer will be prompt, generous, and effective. 14: 4-8.

[An editorial "word to the wise." 14: 9.]

(273) **The Prophet Hosea.** Fortunately, this contemporary of Amos was his opposite. Their natures and their messages were complementary. Hosea was a citizen of the northern kingdom (1: 2; 7: 5; 6: 10). He spoke as a patriot who longed to save his people. His view of the situation was just as clear as that of Amos. He even made out a stronger case of national corruption. But his spirit was tender and sympathetic, rather than critical. He dealt with his theme in a more emotional way, speaking from the depths of bitter patriotic conviction. He seems more spiritually minded than Amos.

We know nothing about his personal life, except through the domestic tragedy described in chapters 1-3. Students differ regarding its interpretation. Some think that Hosea fell in love with a woman in whom he believed and trusted, and married her. He soon discovered her unfaithfulness and was at length deserted by her for another. His love for her did not cease. He found himself willing to forgive her and, on repentance, to take her back. Reflecting on this experience, he saw that it was a revelation to him of Jehovah's inextinguishable love for sinful Israel. Other scholars take 1: 2 very literally. Hosea married an unchaste woman in obedience to Jehovah's command, and as a public object-lesson, intended to provoke questioning, and to enable Hosea to deliver his frank message of

Israel's persistent sinfulness. Such a step would impress all Israel with a sense of the shocking relationship to Jehovah, in which the nation had placed itself. This view greatly emphasizes the self-sacrifice of Hosea and his dramatic genius. It implies that, after the children were born, Hosea placed Gomer in seclusion as a further symbol of the captivity and discipline which Israel needed.

(274) **His Message to Israel.** Like Amos, Hosea saw the selfish wickedness of Israel and the necessity and certainty of judgment, but he made much clearer than Amos did the Divine attitude toward his guilty people. Jehovah was not merely Israel's master, exacting obedience to his ideals, but rather Israel's husband, cleaving to her and caring for her in spite of her gross unfaithfulness, and her father, tenderly training her. He was a god of righteousness and justice, but also One whose love was inextinguishable. Israel's case seemed hopeless. Her judgment could not be averted, but since Jehovah was a husband and a father, the punishment would be redemptive and disciplinary in its purpose and effect. Eventually the nation would repent, be forgiven and, once more, become loyal. These three ideas — that God is predominantly loving, that His purposes are redemptive, and that the issue of His judgments will be a people of obedient devotedness, sound truly spiritual notes in religion.

The message of Hosea recognized the seriousness of sin, but proclaimed the equally persistent love of God. It lifted the relationship of Jehovah with His people onto a new moral and religious plane. The difference between the thinking of Amos and Hosea and the thinking of Elijah and Elisha seems phenomenal. Amos had criticized the popular worship of Jehovah as a substitute for everyday right conduct; Hosea attacked it as the expression of a low, materialistic conception of God's character. A right knowledge of Jehovah (2: 8, 20; 4: 1; 5: 4; 6: 3, 4) and a deliberate responsiveness to His loving approach, Hosea declared to be the two real remedies for his country's troubles. The twenty-six centuries since Hosea's day have not belied his judgment.

2. THE ASSUMPTION OF POLITICAL CONTROL OVER PAL- ESTINE BY ASSYRIA AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOM. 740-721-2 B.C.

(II Kings 15:8-17:41, Isaiah 7:1-9)

The six months' reign of Zechariah. II Kings 15: 8-12.

Shallum's conspiracy and briefer reign. 15: 10, 13-15.

Menahem's aggressiveness yet submission to Tiglath-pileser. 15: 14, 16-22.

Pekahiah's brief reign. 15: 23-26.

Pekah's loss of territory to Tiglath-pileser. 15: 25, 27-31.

Hoshea's revolt and appeal to Egypt; the siege and capture of Samaria. 15: 30; 17: 1-6; 18: 9-12.

An editorial review of the history of northern Israel. 17: 7-23.

How the imperial policy of deportation altered the religious habits of the population of Samaria. 17: 6, 24-41.

The reign of Jotham over Judah. 15: 32-38; II Chron. 27.

Ahaz, his successor, a reactionary. 16: 1-4.

His submission to Tiglath-pileser. 16: 5-9; Isaiah 7: 1-9.

His religious imitation of Assyrian practise. 16: 10-20.

(275) These passages describe the quick succession of kings and dynasties in Israel after Jeroboam's death, the inglorious reign of Ahaz, the rapid encroachments of the Assyrians, and the downfall of Samaria.

Note the number of distinct dynasties set up by the six Israelitish sovereigns from Zachariah to Hoshea (15: 8-31; 17: 1-6), and contrast the succession of Israelitish dynasties since Jeroboam I with the dynastic stability in Judah. Note the exaction of heavy tribute by the Assyrians in Menahem's reign (15: 16-20), Pekah's seizure of the throne (15: 25), the attempt of Rezon of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria to force Ahaz of Judah into a coalition against Assyria (16: 5; Isaiah 7: 1-9), how Ahaz, despite Isaiah's advice, dealt with this dangerous situation (16: 7-9), the consequent prompt invasion of the northern kingdom in 734 B.C. by the Assyrian army (15: 29) and its conquest of Damascus, two years later (16: 9). Notice the religious impression made on Ahaz when he went to Damascus to pay homage to the Assyrian king (16: 10-16), the losses made necessary by the payment of Assyrian tribute (16: 8, 17, 18), the reason why Shalmaneser V, the son of Tiglath-pileser, besieged Hoshea, the last Israelitish sovereign in his capital, Samaria

(17:1-5), and how Shalmaneser's son, Sargon, disposed of the surrendered people (17:6). Study the interpretation of this disaster by the editor of the books of Kings. How, according to the same authority, did the half-pagan Samaritan community of later days develop (17:24-41)?

(276) **Israel's Two Decades after Jeroboam II.** The prosperity which characterized the realm of Jeroboam II disappeared rapidly after his death. Internal strife, foreign invasion, and crushing tribute brought the northern kingdom to sudden ruin. Hosea (4:2; 5:10-14; 7:8-11; 12:1) alludes to rapid dynastic changes, dissensions, conspiracies, appeals for foreign aid. In seventeen years there were six recognized rulers and four changes of dynasty. Political and social, as well as religious conditions, were chaotic. In 738 Menahem had to pay Tiglath-pileser (whose Babylonian name, 15:19, was Pulu) an enormous tribute (15:19, 20). In 734 B.C. the same invader annexed all of Galilee and East-Jordan, leaving only central Palestine to Pekah, Israel's king. In 732 B.C. he overran, completely crushed, and absorbed into the Assyrian empire the kingdom of Damascus, so long the bold, resourceful and energetic bulwark of Israel against Assyrian aggression. A decade later his grandson, Sargon, just ascending the throne, received the news of Samaria's fall.

Thus passed, after two active centuries, the kingdom founded by Jeroboam I. Without accepting the sweeping judgment of the editors of Kings (13:2, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, etc.), the thoughtful student can see how that sovereign stamped upon his people certain characteristics and conditions which helped to bring about their downfall. No people ever had more brilliant and sacrificial leadership than Israel, yet the nation was, in a way, doomed from the start. Yet political weakness did not blind religious and social insight. Israel's contributions to democracy, to the spirituality of religion and to the knowledge of God would seem remarkable in any age.

(277) **The Lost Ten Tribes.** Sargon states in his inscription relating to the fall of Samaria that he carried

away into exile twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and ninety of its inhabitants. This small number must have represented the leaders of Israel, those whose presence would endanger the peace he wished to assure. These captives and those of the earlier invasion were settled in different parts of the vast Assyrian empire (17:6). The great bulk of the people of Samaria may not have been disturbed. Sargon settled among them captives from other parts of his empire (II Kings 17:24). Later sovereigns added yet more (Ezra 4:2, 9, 10). They developed a mongrel fusion-religion (II Kings 17:27-33), which encouraged them in Zerubbabel's day to claim to be Jehovah worshippers (Ezra 4:2). Henceforth the northern kingdom was merged into the Assyrian empire, and its inhabitants, a large proportion of whom were non-Jews, came to be known as Samaritans.

Some of the exiled Israelites may have found their way back again to Palestine, but the majority were absorbed by the peoples among whom they were settled. The Ten Tribes were effectually lost. The idea that they will be found again has no foundation.

(278) **Three Great Assyrian Rulers.** It was Israel's misfortune to be opposed at her time of crisis by rulers of commanding ability. Tiglath-pileser IV died in 727 B.C., having wrought Assyria by his organizing genius into a true empire, greater than ever before. His immediate successor, Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.) had no opportunity to make an equal fame, but he dealt the final blow to the northern Israelitish kingdom. Hoshea, made king over "the house of Omri" by Tiglath-pileser IV, was persuaded by Egypt (II Kings 17:4) to revolt against Shalmaneser. He refused the annual tribute. Shalmaneser marched against northern Israel, defeated and captured Hoshea, and determined to capture Samaria and put an end to the independent life of the kingdom. Just as Samaria was about to fall, after holding out for three years (17:5), Shalmaneser died. His successor, Sargon II (722-705 B.C.), carried out his plans for Israel (17:6). Sargon was a ruler of wonderful energy and

capacity. During his reign he broke the power of Urartu and Babylonia, the long time centres of disaffection and danger, reorganized the empire and left it to his successor fairly well unified. In the grip of such a sovereign the little states of the "Westland" were wholly helpless (Isaiah 10: 14), unless they acted absolutely as a unit or unless they were efficiently assisted by Egypt. Every resistance to Assyrian aggression from this time onward was based on an attempted alliance or on the promises of Egypt.

3. ISAIAH'S EARLY MESSAGES TO JUDAH IN THE DAYS OF JOTHAM AND AHAZ.

(Isaiah 2:5-10:4; 17)

(279) These passages give us the secret of Isaiah's steadiness and serenity, as he faced the bitter problems at home and the pressing dangers abroad. Like his contemporaries he challenged the dangerously selfish corruption of the life of his day. These utterances sound a strongly ethical note.

Isaiah's Earliest Sermons to the People of Jerusalem (738-739 B.C.).

The vision of Jehovah's majesty and holiness which made Isaiah a prophet (actually put into written form much later in Isaiah's life). 6.

Jerusalem is a superstitious, corrupt, frivolous, luxurious city, inviting Divine judgment. 2: 5 to 4: 1.

Judah is Jehovah's unfruitful vineyard. 5: 1-7.

Her people practise social unrighteousness, greed for land, drunkenness, skepticism, sophistry, conceit and injustice. 5: 8-24.

Proud Israel will be smitten, stroke upon stroke, by war, disaster, anarchy, invasion until she is swept away. 9: 8 to 10: 4; 5: 25-30.

Israel's bulwark, the Syrian kingdom, is doomed and Israel along with her. 17: 1-11.

Isaiah's Appeal to Ahaz at the Syro-Ephraimitish Crisis (About 735 B.C.).

These two nations have lost all power for mischief; do not fear them, O Ahaz: have faith in Jehovah's care. 7: 3-9.

Do you hypocritically reject [because of your own cherished purpose to appeal to Tiglath-pileser] Jehovah's sign? Let Jehovah give you one! An expectant mother shall soon have a son, whom in her faith she will name Immanuel (God is with us). Before he knows good food from bad, those countries shall lie waste. 7: 10-16.

Unparalleled disaster may then be anticipated for Judah. 7: 17-25.

His Later Messages to the People of Jerusalem. (Before 732 B.C.)

The two public predictions, on the signboard and through the name given to the prophet's second son, of the fall of Damascus and the invasion of Judah. 8: 1-4.

The rejection of Jehovah's gentle guidance means a brutal Assyrian domination. 8: 5-10.

This coalition [of Syria and Israel] is not Judah's real cause for alarm but rather Jehovah. 8: 11-15.

Since my protests do not avail, I commit my message to my disciples. I, with my children, will bear testimony in silence. 8: 16-18.

However prone to superstition or distressed the people may become, there will be a dawn after the darkness. The enemy's yoke will be broken by a righteous ruler who has a fourfold name expressive of wisdom, prowess, goodness and peace. 8: 19 to 9: 7.

(280) Notice the exact date of Isaiah's call to be a prophet (Isaiah 6: 1) and the full significance of his vision (6: 2-13). Study the ethical directness of his messages to his people (5: 1-24) and to his fellow Jerusalemites (2: 6-9, 12, 17; 3: 5-12, 14-16). Notice the specific character of the judgments which he predicted (9: 8 to 10: 4; 5: 25-30). When Isaiah tried to encourage King Ahaz to resist the coalition which sought to force him into a league against Assyria* (7: 1-9), what was his argument (Compare 17: 1-11)? Try to interpret the "sign" (7: 10-16) as Ahaz would have understood it. Did it necessarily carry any Messianic meaning? Get clearly in mind the two great watchwords, "remnant" and "impending judgment," which Isaiah gave to his generation through the names given to his two boys (7: 3 margin; 8: 1 margin). Try also to understand the value of the prediction of the ultimate deliverance of the "remnant" by a wonderful leader (9: 1-7). Did that necessarily have to the people of Isaiah's day a Messianic meaning?

(281) **The Book of Isaiah.** This book is almost a literature. It is a collection of prophetic collections of greatly varying dates. It contains prophecies of the days of Isaiah, the son of Amos, together with those which have no reference whatever to his age. In this historical survey the portions which relate to each period are dis-

*It is of interest that on the very same spot, 34 years later, Sennacherib's representative stood, when he delivered to King Hezekiah (§297) the insulting demand of his own sovereign (Isaiah 36: 2; II Kings 18: 17 ff.).

cussed in connection with that period. The book as a whole falls into four fairly distinct sections: (a) Chapters 1-35; (b) 36-39; (c) 40-55 and (d) 56-66. Of these (c) and (d) belong to the exile of the sixth century or later; (b) is paralleled by II Kings 18:13 to 20:20. Only (a) contains the portions which set forth the activity and the ideas of the prophet of the eighth century. Even (a), which covers about forty years of history, contains two apocalyptic passages (34, 35; 24-27) which may belong to the fourth century. It may be analyzed thus: (1) An introductory, representative prophecy hard to date; (2) a little volume of discourses about Judah and Jerusalem (2-12); (3) a group of "burdens" or oracles mainly against foreign nations (15-23); (4) an apocalyptic vision of world judgment on the "day of Jehovah" intermingled with lyrics of uncertain date (24-27); (5) a group of "woes" or warnings and consolations to Jerusalem (28-33); (6) an apocalyptical vision of the golden age, which serves as a conclusion to this first great group of prophecies (34, 35). It is perfectly evident that much analysis and rearrangement is necessary, if a student is to gain a true picture of the prophet Isaiah and his work.

(282) **Isaiah's Call to be a Prophet.** Isaiah was one of the few master-minds of history. He had a task of tremendous difficulty. He faced it with a serenity and consistency which are fully explained by the glorious vision which initiated his prophetic career and established the great convictions which gripped and enlightened him. Quite possibly Hosea may not have been aware, when he felt an irresistible impulse to marry Gomer, that it was God's way of calling him to be a prophet. It was otherwise with Isaiah. He knew the very hour and the spot when God laid hold on him and charged him with the solemn and important but disheartening task of arousing the conscience of his people. He saw Jehovah upon His throne, majestic and holy. Thenceforth He was a sublime spiritual Presence whose glory fills the universe, whose invincible purpose (14:26) directs all history, the "Holy One of Israel," a great religious reality.

(283) His First Few Years of Prophetic Activity.

Three distinct periods in his prophetic life are reflected in the first twelve chapters of the book of Isaiah. The fine introductory chapter, which emphasized several of Isaiah's great ideas, is usually allotted to the later period of his ministry (about 701 B.C.), along with 10:5 to 11:9. Chapters 2:1 to 6:13; 9:8 to 10:4 form an all too brief record of his fine, clear insight into the social and spiritual conditions of Jerusalem and Judah just prior to 735 B.C., which went straight to their causes and consequences. It is worth while to study these prophecies from the standpoint of literature. Isaiah was a master of noble speech, incisive, clear, figurative; with words that burn he revealed the corruption, materialism, frivolity, depravity and skepticism of Judean society and the sweeping judgments by which Jehovah would bring His people to their senses. Chapters 7:1 to 9:7 set forth the earnest appeals of Isaiah in 735 B.C. to Ahaz and the people to dissuade them from an alliance with Tiglath-pileser, affirming the wisdom of trusting Jehovah (7:9), the certainty that the action of Ahaz would ensure disaster to his own land (7:17-25; 8:5-8) and a fine message of hope (9:1-7).

(284) His Early Ideas. Isaiah, like Amos and Hosea, prophesied a Divine judgment upon his people. But he clarified and organized the ideas which he shared with these great predecessors. His favorite phrase for Jehovah, the "Holy One of Israel," carried with it the righteousness of Amos and the redemptive love of Hosea, but implied besides His freedom from all limitations and His moral perfection. From His exalted viewpoint righteousness and abiding faith, not ritual, constituted the real expressions of religion, but His people seemed hopelessly sinful. Hence Jehovah must send judgments upon Judah. These would take the form of invasion by an army (5:26-29), involving distress and humiliation; but not the failure of God's plans. Like Hosea, Isaiah was not without hope. He named his eldest son "Remnant shall return" (7:3) in order to make him a walking prophecy of both judgment

and promise. There would be a "Remnant," a better Israel, whose right development would be assured by the leader whom Jehovah would produce, the four-named King of peace, justice, and strength (Isaiah 9:6).

Thus Isaiah rounded out the thinking of his predecessors. Hosea saw a future in the nature of the case, Jehovah being what He is, a God of love. Isaiah defined the stages by which that future was to be realized, viz.: (1) a richly deserved judgment, severe and prolonged, but disciplinary in its purpose and outcome; (2) a repentant few, a "remnant"; (3) this small, loyal group given in due time both deliverance and leadership, so as to be able to fulfil God's plans (9:2-7).

(285) **The Syro-Ephraimitish Crisis of 735 B.C. and the Fatal Resolve of Ahaz.** It is evident that Ahaz, who came to the throne rather young, was an obstinate weakling, unwilling to take counsel. When threatened by Pekah of Israel and Rezon of Damascus, who were aiming to form a coalition of Palestinian states against Assyria, and proposed, if necessary, to compel Ahaz to join them, Ahaz meditated submission to Assyria as a means of counteracting their attack. Isaiah advised the king to trust calmly in Jehovah and avoid all entangling alliances. But Ahaz had already committed himself and began to negotiate with Tiglath-pileser IV of Assyria. He paid homage in person to the great king at Damascus, and aped his customs. Isaiah could do nothing more. For about twenty years Ahaz continued to reign. His people felt the galling yoke of Assyria with growing impatience, but dared not rise against the terrible Sargon. The next datable word of Isaiah was given expression a quarter of a century after the encounter with Ahaz. The prophet probably lived a quiet life, surrounded by disciples. The "teaching" was "sealed" (8:16). His children, "Speed-spoil-hurry-prey" and "Remnant shall return," were continually preaching two of his great ideas. There was little that he could do publicly. His fine and noble character and the gradual confirmation of his words gave him a growing place in the minds of his people.

4. THE WORK OF ISAIAH AND MICAH IN THE DECADE PRECEDING SENNACHERIB'S INVASION OF PALESTINE IN 701 B.C.

(Isaiah 18; 19: 1-17; 20: 1-6; 28-32 mainly; Micah 1-3;
6: 9-7: 6; II Kings 18: 1-8; 20: 1-20; II Chron. 32: 1-8)

The early reforms of Hezekiah, his defensive preparations and warfare with the Philistines. II Kings 18: 1-8; 20: 20; II Chron. 32: 1-8.

How Isaiah blocked an early revolt against Sargon. Isaiah 20.

The severe illness of the king and the visit of Merodach-baladan's envoy. II Kings 20: 1-19.

(286) These passages relate the stirring history of the days when Judah and other states were restless under Assyrian control and ready to revolt. The crisis developed Isaiah's ripest thought regarding Jehovah's greatness, the wisdom of trusting in Him, the folly of reliance on any human aid, the importance of true personality and of quiet faith and the certainty of the execution of God's plans.

Micah's Vision of Doom in View of the Social Sins of Judah's Leaders. (Between 722 and 701 B.C.)

[The superscription of the editor. 1: 1.]

The sad and certain doom of Samaria will extend to Jerusalem. 1: 2-9.

With what accompanying distresses the army of conquest advances from the seacoast (told in paronomasias). 1: 10-16.

The greedy, unscrupulous, self-deceived Judeans of wealth and power will suffer deserved exile. 2: 1-11.

[The remnant will be delivered from the exile. 2: 12-13.]

Judah is as wicked as Israel was. 6: 9-7: 6.

Judah's rulers are so heartless and her false prophets so blinded, and all so united in their corruption that a sweeping judgment is sure. 3: 1-12.

Isaiah's Determined Opposition to Anti-Assyrian Alliances. (Between 705 and 703 B.C.)

Let the Ethiopian ambassadors go back; Jehovah is biding His time. Isaiah 18.

Like the drunken leaders of beautiful Samaria are those of Judah. They resent my reiterated warnings, and place their security in alliances. The only safe and broad basis for our national hope is righteousness and justice. 28: 1-22.

God adjusts His processes to the ends He has in view. 28: 23-29.

Jerusalem is God's altar-hearth; she shall be inviolable. 29: 1-8.

The people are unreceptive to my appeals; they even try to hide their plots from Jehovah's eyes. 29: 9-24.

The alliance with Egypt will only bring disgrace; she is "Rahab sit-still." 30: 1-7.

You rebelliously minded people wish only agreeable words to be spoken to you; utter ruin will befall you. 30: 8-17.

At the crisis of distress Jehovah will have mercy and bring again prosperity. 30: 18-26.

Jehovah will appear in His wrath to annihilate Assyria, while Judah rejoices. 30: 27-33.

Woe to those who trust in Egypt: Jehovah will protect His people and destroy Assyria. 31: 1-9.

Egypt will receive the judgment she merits. 19: 1-17.

There shall sometime be a king governing righteously. 32: 1-8.

The frivolous wealthy women of Jerusalem will soon have abundant sorrow. 32: 9-14.

Righteous conduct and justice will bring peace and happiness. 32: 15-20.

(287) Study the impressive language of Micah when justifying Jehovah's judgments against Samaria and Jerusalem (Micah 1: 2-7; 2: 1-3; 3: 1-11). Note with the aid of the margin or a commentary the plays on words in 1: 10-15. Compare Micah in the vigorous presentation of his ideas with his three predecessors.

Notice the new king of Judah (II Kings 18: 1), his religious attitude (18: 3-6), his vigor (20: 20; II Chron. 32: 1-8), his friendly response to the embassy of Merodach-baladan of Babylon and Isaiah's attitude (20: 12-19), the unsparing criticism by Isaiah of any alliance with Egypt after Sennacherib's accession (30: 1-3, 7; 31: 1-3), and the noble arguments he made (see above).

(288) **The Early Reign of Hezekiah.** Hezekiah came to the throne of Judah certainly not later than 715 B.C.* He inherited a social situation which Micah condemns unsparingly. He entered vigorously into his royal duties. The Chronicler dates many religious reforms (II Chron. 29) in his first year, but the question whether the reforms mentioned in II Kings 18: 4 were in the beginning or at the end of his reign is unsettled; 18: 22 seems to show that something was done. Hezekiah was a noble prince. He may have been under Isaiah's influence during his boyhood, since the prophet had much influence over him as a king. At any rate, after an interval of nearly a quarter century, Isaiah was again influential. He was a far-sighted sovereign. He strengthened Jerusalem (20: 20), so as to

* According to II Kings 18: 10 his first regnal year was 727 B.C.; according to II Kings 18: 13 his first regnal year was 715 B.C. It seems impossible to decide absolutely between these estimates.

prepare his country for war. During the last years of Sargon there was a growing restlessness throughout Palestine. A new Ethiopian dynasty had arisen in Egypt, which made many promises of help to the little states of Palestine. The annual tribute to Assyria was a great burden. Babylonia had made herself independent of Assyria since 721 B.C. In 711 B.C. the Philistine cities of Ashdod and Gath did rebel. Isaiah wisely prevented the people of Judah from this rashness (Isaiah 20: 1-6) by walking the streets for three years in the garb of a captive.

(289) **Micah's Denunciation of Judah's Leaders.** At some time in this period the peasant prophet Micah must have delivered the vigorous messages found in chapters 1-3. Criticism tends to attribute to him little more than these chapters in the book which bears his name. It is clear that the other chapters contain some material of a later date than the probable life of Micah, but they also express ideas which seem entirely congruous with an age of such glorious idealism as that of Hezekiah. The first three chapters use the fall of Samaria, either imminent or already a fact (1: 6), as an impressive warning to Judah (1: 9). The prophet uses a remarkable series of plays upon the names of villages on the way to express the certainty of the invasion of an army up from the Philistine plain through the western passes to Jerusalem (1: 10-16). He then lays bare the flagrant social crimes of the rich and powerful. They were like cannibals in their greed (3: 2, 3). He denounced the mercenary prophets (3: 5), to whom Jehovah gives no message (3: 6-8), and other self-seeking leaders (3: 9-11), and declared that both Jerusalem and its temple would be destroyed (3: 12). That Micah's words deeply impressed the nation is indicated by Jeremiah 26.

(290) **The New Assyrian King, Sennacherib.** Sargon died in 705 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib, a man of iron and blood. His reign of twenty-five years (705-680 B.C.) was chiefly distinguished by his operations against Babylonia, which he crushed, and against Palestine.

(291) **The Great Palestinian Revolt of 703 B.C.** When Sargon died the nations subject to Assyria could not resist the temptation to revolt. Merodach-baladan, whom Sargon had expelled from Babylonia in 710 B.C., began another revolution in that country and sent emissaries to Palestine to stir up disaffection (Isaiah 39; II Kings 20). Tyre, Edom, Moab, Ammon, several Philistine cities and certain Arab tribes made a coalition into which Judah, despite Isaiah's vigorous opposition, was drawn.

(292) **Isaiah's Vain Protests.** Some of the finest prophecies of Isaiah were delivered in the vain attempt to prevent Judah from taking this step. A strong party trusted in the promises of aid which Egypt was making, and was in favor of revolting. Isaiah declared that Egypt was a land of ample promises and slender performances, "Madame Brag and Stay-at-Home" (30:7). It was far wiser to trust in Jehovah than in Egypt's cavalry (31:1-3). Judah's security depended wholly upon her trust in Him (30:8-17), not at all on diplomacy or alliances. These pleadings had little effect.

5. THE INVASION OF PALESTINE BY SENNACHERIB AND THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM.

(Isaiah 1:2-26; 10:5-34; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 18:1-7; 22:33, 36, 37; II Kings 18:13-19:37; Micah 4:1-7:6)

(293) These passages describe the events and emotions of this great crisis, and the closing years of Hezekiah's reign.

Sennacherib's first approach; defensive activity; Hezekiah's submission. II Kings 18:13-16; Isaiah 22:7-11.

A period of peace and reform. II Chron. 29-31; 32:27-30.

Sennacherib's later attempts to force a surrender of Jerusalem. II Kings 18:17-19:34; Isaiah 36; 37.

The sudden pestilence in his army. II Kings 19:35.

His sudden departure to Assyria. II Kings 19:36-37.

Isaiah's Assurances of God's Watchfulness, Power and Purpose. (During 701 B.C. and later.)

Judah's distress is due to her own faithlessness and ingratitude. Jehovah demands justice and mercy and obedience. The city is degenerate. Isaiah 1:2-26.

The unpardonable frivolity of the people threatened by imminent danger. 22: 1-14.

The ambitious steward, Shebna, deposed in favor of the steadfast Eliakim. 22: 15-25.

The power of Assyria shall soon be broken: Jehovah's great deed of deliverance will give His people peace; Jerusalem shall be preserved inviolate. 33.

The proud and boastful Assyrian is only Jehovah's tool: his humiliating ruin is sure. 10: 5-34.

The Assyrian will be defeated: Jehovah's rule is world-wide. 14: 24-27.

His destruction will be sudden and complete. 17: 12-14; 18: 1-7.

Beautiful Predictions Which Belong to Later Days.

Isaiah's story of his call to his prophetic task. Isaiah 6.

Jerusalem shall be the teaching center of true religion for the world. Isaiah 2: 2-4; Micah 4: 1-5.

Little Bethlehem in the country shall be the birthplace of the expected leader. Micah 5: 2-5a.

The religion which Jehovah demands is reasonable. Micah 6: 1-8.

The shoot from the stock of Jesse shall rule in righteousness and peace. Isaiah 11: 1-9.

The Jerusalem of that ideal day. Isaiah 4: 2-6.

The task of the deliverer and of the "remnant." Micah 5: 5b-15.

[Repentant Israel's confession of faith. Micah 7: 7-20.]

[The second great deliverance and return. Isaiah 11: 10-16.]

(294) Note carefully the stages of Sennacherib's invasion as reported in Kings and by the prophet: Sennacherib's approach (II Kings 18: 13), the distress thus caused (Isaiah 1: 7-9; compare 22: 5-11), Hezekiah's payment of ransom (II Kings 18: 14-16), the subsequent demand for a complete surrender (18: 17-37), Isaiah's advice in regard to a fitting reply (19: 1-8), the second demand by letter (19: 9-13), what Hezekiah did with the letter (19: 14-19), the prophetic answer of Isaiah (19: 20, 32-34) and the calamity which forced Sennacherib to return to Nineveh (19: 35, 36).

Put together Isaiah's characterizations of the Assyrian and note his reasons for confidence (II Kings 19: 21-31; Isaiah 10: 5-34; 14: 24-27). Notice also his declarations regarding Jerusalem (Isaiah 37: 35; 28: 16; 31: 5; 33: 20).

Read II Chron. 29-31 to gain some idea of the reforms which King Hezekiah may have put through during his last years.

(295) **Sennacherib's First Campaign.** Sennacherib was unable in 703 B.C. to discipline all of his revolting vassals at once. He first campaigned against Babylonia,

then against Media, and finally, in 701 B.C., was ready to deal with Palestine and Phoenicia. He promptly crushed the Phoenician opposition, but the Palestinian alliance (§ 291), of which Hezekiah had been made the leader, confronted him. He marched down the seacoast, capturing Ashkelon and Ekron and their regions. Then he defeated at Eltekeh an Egyptian army which was marching to the aid of the allies. Moab, Edom and Ammon promptly submitted, so he turned his attention to Jerusalem.

(296) **His Occupation of Judah and Hezekiah's Submission.** Instead of directly attacking Jerusalem, Sennacherib's army ravaged Judah (Isaiah 1:7, 8) and blockaded the city, shutting up Hezekiah, to use the language of the inscription, "like a bird in a cage." This brought Hezekiah to terms. He surrendered and purchased the freedom of the city by paying a heavy, humiliating ransom (II Kings 18:13-16).

(297) **Sennacherib's Fresh Demand and its Rejection.** It is clear that the passage II Kings 18:17 to 19:37 represents two distinguishable narratives. The first (18:17 to 19:8) relates a demand from Sennacherib for the surrender of Jerusalem which was rejected by Hezekiah. The second describes a later demand, couched in similar terms, and received with the same confident declaration by Isaiah that Jehovah would defend his city. Scholars differ widely in their explanation of these demands. Some think that both demands were made in 701 B.C.; some that the first demand was made in 701 and the second nearly twelve years later, when there is good evidence that Sennacherib made a second expedition to the Westland. Still others think that both demands are to be dated in connection with the second expedition and regarded as duplicate versions of the same story. To decide between these views is not really necessary. It is certain that Sennacherib after Hezekiah's submission tried at least once again, in violation of his plighted word, to compel Jerusalem to surrender. It is probable that this happened about 689 B.C., when Sen-

nacherib made a second campaign to southern Palestine. It is sure that Isaiah declared again that Jehovah would protect his city, the altar-hearth of true religion, the needful home of the Remnant, Jehovah's inviolable sanctuary.* Thus he steadied the faith of king and people at this crisis. It was a remarkable instance of the power of a great personality.

(298) **The Great Deliverance.** In 691 or 690 B.C. Tirhakah (II Kings 19: 9) ascended the throne of Egypt. He was a formidable foe, capable of making much trouble for Assyria in the west. Sennacherib marched against him, making an attempt on the way to get Jerusalem under his control. Before the Assyrian army met the Egyptians it was stricken by a pestilence which Sennacherib naturally interpreted to be due to the dangerous anger of the gods of the countries he had invaded, so that he hurried back to Nineveh. A few years later, in 681, he was murdered (II Kings 19: 35-37). This sudden deliverance of Jerusalem seemed nothing short of miraculous. Zion's holiness was vindicated, and Isaiah's prediction that Jehovah would put forth His hand to save His people and His city was fulfilled.

(299) **The Great Reformation.** The thoroughgoing reformation in Hezekiah's day, implied not only by the Chronicler but by II Kings 18: 4, especially the removal of the high places, would have been aided by the desecrating ravages of the Assyrian soldiery in 701 B.C. and by the demonstration of the inviolableness of Jerusalem in 689 B.C. It aimed, religiously, to centralize all worship at Jerusalem and socially, as Professor Kent once pointed out, to correct the glaring social abuses which were so contrary to prophetic ideals. Something had been done by Hezekiah earlier than 701 B.C. (Isaiah 36: 7), but probably the completion of these reforms may be credited to the last decades of Hezekiah's reign.

(300) **Prophecies of Isaiah and Micah about the Future.** Chapters 28-33 of the book of Isaiah and chapters 4-7 of the book of Micah include several passages

* For western Asia as Sennacherib left it see the map facing page 146.

which differ markedly in tone and temper from the declarations of doom with which they are associated. Such contrasting passages can hardly be contemporaneous. Their juxtaposition may be due to editorial love of contrast. Many students declare them to be exilic in date. The alternative is to regard them as dating late in Isaiah's life. Isaiah 11:1-9 would also be of that later period. 11:10-16 is clearly postexilic.

The fourth and fifth chapters of Micah contain a series of interesting visions of the future of the Hebrew race after exile. Such passages, however, as 4:1-5, 11-13; 5:1-8 may belong to Micah's time. 7:7-20 is a choice prophetic meditation, but seems to be a late addition to the prophetic collection.

(301) **The Prophet Isaiah.** For not less than forty years and perhaps for more than half a century the prophet Isaiah was a familiar and commanding figure in Jerusalem. He was characteristically a citizen of Jerusalem, the city he loved, just as Amos was a farmer. He was an aristocrat, a representative of the finely educated classes, one whose range of thinking was comprehensive and constructive, a statesman, a man of large affairs. He was in full sympathy with what Amos and Hosea had said, but added the ideas which were complementary. Their declarations implied the greatness and glory of Jehovah, but he spoke of Jehovah of Hosts exalted and holy with His world-plan. Hosea emphasized the love of Jehovah which made His judgments redemptive in purpose, but Isaiah added the supplemental ideas of the repentant Remnant, and its Leader, of Jehovah's majestic purpose unfolding in human history and of Jerusalem as the precious working center of His plans. Isaiah had the organizing or theological mind. He was also a gifted statesman and reformer, farsighted, eloquent, a master of expression. His unrivalled power of terse, stirring description placed him in a literary class by himself. He could sway listeners almost at will. His writings abound in passages of remarkable force and beauty, such as 2:12-17; 5:26-29; 10:5-19; 11:1-9, etc., but his power was due to

his straightforward, unquestioning faith in Jehovah and His good purpose (7: 9; 28: 16; 30: 15).

(302) **The Last Days of Hezekiah and Isaiah.** Nothing is definitely known concerning the concluding years of Hezekiah's reign. The land was recuperating from the frightful losses of Sennacherib's campaigns, and the people were probably loyal and grateful over the services of the king and his great prophet at the subsequent deliverance. A great and sudden change, however, was right ahead.

(303) **Micah's Summary of Eighth Century Prophecy.** A wonderful summary, dated by many scholars in the later life of Micah during the early years of Manasseh's reign over Judah, concludes appropriately the prophetic thinking of the preceding half century. The conclusion of the dramatic dialogue between Jehovah and His people regarding what was due to Him (Micah 6: 1-7) is the remarkable saying of 6: 8, which summarizes the vital messages of Amos, Hosea and Isaiah into a simple but noble declaration of religious duty.

(304) **The Four Prophets of the Half Century.** The significance of the work of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah and thus of the half century during which they labored is not easily overstated. Each contributed in his own way his peculiar share toward a revolutionizing of the religious ideals of the age. Affirming that Jehovah was distinctively a moral Being to be described in terms of character as righteous, holy, loving and wise, they declared that He was the sovereign Ruler of the world. Even invincible Assyria was His tool. The Hebrews were His covenanted people, but that implied their loyalty to His ideals, which their unsound social, economic and religious life prevented. To awaken their consciences Jehovah was forced to send upon them sweeping judgments, using the Assyrians as His agent. But the judgments, being redemptive, not punitive, would at some future time result in a new Israel, a purified Remnant, led by a wise, fine leader. Then Jerusalem would become the religious center of the world.

Four great ideas underlie the spiritual religion of the Old Testament: (1) Jehovah the holy, just, loving Ruler of the world; (2) man in loving fellowship with Him; (3) the moral and spiritual demands of this relationship, and (4) the future Kingdom exhibiting true social righteousness. These prophets made great progress toward the expression of these ideas. Ethically they left little to be said, yet they were strongly nationalistic.

Much of their teaching is as sound today as it was twenty-eight centuries ago. Our social conditions compare closely with the conditions described by these prophets. City and community problems are more or less eternal. Selfishness, pride, greed, and the love of power work havoc with true religion in all ages. The ideas of God still hold good. But the prophets of the eighth century B.C. were limited in two marked ways. They could not imagine Jehovah as carrying out His plans for the world except by using the Hebrew nation as His working unit. Hence they looked forward to its literal and complete restoration as a nation, with Jerusalem functioning as the capital and the temple as the religious center. Moreover, they expected that the world would receive its knowledge of Jehovah by coming to Jerusalem, His abode. These ideas were glorious and commendable, but not truly interpretative of the real Divine intention. They were a sort of bridge between the older, narrow nationalism and the true universalism of a century or two later.

These prophets were really predicting that the whole world would ultimately worship Jehovah. They erred only in specifying the exact method by which this was to be brought about. It took nearly two centuries of added experience to reveal the real Divine method.

XI

THE HALF CENTURY OF UNQUESTIONED ASSYRIAN INFLUENCE IN JUDAH WITH ITS ANTI-PROPHETIC SPIRIT AND POPULARIZATION OF FOREIGN RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS.

ABOUT 686-641 B.C. (II Kings 21; II Chron. 33; the nucleus of Deuteronomy; JE)

The religious innovations of Manasseh. II Kings 21: 1-9; II Chronicles 33: 1-9.

The prophetic view of his reign. II Kings 21: 10-15.

His discipline. II Chronicles 33: 10-13.

His royal career. II Kings 21: 16-18; II Chronicles 33: 14-20.

(305) The half century following the reign of Hezekiah witnessed a great overturning of the religious conditions which he and Isaiah had established. Assyria enlarged her greatness by making the conquest of Egypt (674-670) under Esarhaddon. No great nation remained to dispute her imperial purpose. Little Judah was her acknowledged vassal, and came willingly under her influence in matters pertaining to religion and culture. This influence was not wholly evil. It gave Judah a close contact with the ripest culture of the age, and fertilized the popular mind. The half century was peaceful and prosperous, but religiously decadent. Manasseh, the young king, sanctioned not merely the introduction of Assyrian star worship into Jerusalem but also the revival of Canaanitish idolatry. Both were so thoroughly adopted by the people that Ezekiel, a century later, described these rites as prevailing in Jerusalem. Moreover, Manasseh sternly repressed Jehovah worship.

JUDAH		ASSYRIA
	686	
Manasseh, 686-641		Esarhaddon, 681-668
Amon, 641-639		Ashurbanipal, 668-625
	639	

The length of Manasseh's reign is given as fifty-five years (II Kings 21: 1). Josiah's reign, however, began quite certainly in 639 B.C. This places the end of Manasseh's reign in 641 B.C. How to find the other ten years is a puzzle in Biblical chronology.

The record of Manasseh's reign is quite unsatisfactory. It is entirely from the pen of the editor. Jeremiah, however, felt quite as the editor did about the king (Jer. 15: 4). The historical details given by the Chronicler are not improbable, but lack clear confirmation.

1. THE RELIGIOUS REACTION OF MANASSEH'S REIGN.

(II Kings 21; II Chron. 33: 10-20)

(306) These chapters describe the events of Manasseh's long reign and his relations with Assyria.

Notice Manasseh's tender age when he became king (II Kings 21: 1). Follow the detail of the religious changes he permitted (21: 2-9), the attitude of the prophets (21: 10-15) and his bloody persecution of them (21: 16; 24: 4; Jer. 2: 30). Consider how explicitly the Chronicler relates his sufferings (II Chron. 33: 11) and his achievements (33: 14).

(307) **The Outside World in the First Half of the Seventh Century.** When Manasseh was seventeen years old, Sennacherib was murdered (§ 298) in his own capital by his sons, and was succeeded, after several months of civil war, by the rightful heir, Esarhaddon (680-668). The new king was quite the opposite of his father. He was energetic and persistent, yet generous. He voluntarily restored Babylonia to her former position of reasonable independence. He added Arabia and Egypt to his dominions. He faced the invading Cimmerians, and diverted them from his realm, whereupon they conquered Cappadocia and settled there. He colonized Samaria (Ezra 4: 2). He must be ranked high among the rulers of the Assyrian empire. In his days, however, one ominous event took place. The Medes had settled during the preceding century in the mountains northeast of Assyria and beyond Elam. They had given Assyria little trouble, but could not be driven away. In Esarhaddon's time a new horde, closely related to the Medes, had swept down from the northern shores of the Black Sea and settled among the Medes and in the northeastern provinces of the empire.

Within a century these combined peoples were to become extremely formidable.

In 668 B.C. Esarhaddon was succeeded by his son, Ashurbanipal, who had a long and brilliant reign of forty-two years (668-626). He retained outward control of his vast empire, but with many indications that the grip of earlier days was weakening. He was the last real world ruler of his race. He is the "Osnapper" of Ezra 4: 9, 10.*

(308) **The Reign of Manasseh in Judah.** Manasseh's long reign was marked by two great religious changes, a return to the Canaanitish idolatry of earlier times and a hospitality to Assyrian religious customs. He was influenced to make the first change by the palace women and by the strong anti-prophetic party in Jerusalem. He made the second as a loyal vassal, introducing the worship of the "host of heaven" into the very courts of the Temple. It became so popular that it was practised on the housetops (Jer. 19: 13; Zeph. 1: 5).

Manasseh is mentioned by Esarhaddon as a tributary in 676 B.C. and by Ashurbanipal as one who helped him in his first campaign against Egypt in 668 B.C. He may have participated in a revolt and been punished by a temporary exile in Babylon, but no record of it is known.

Four good results followed his loyalty to Assyria: (1) Judah had a much needed opportunity for peaceful recruiting; (2) the trade of Jerusalem improved through the increased commerce within the empire which now included western Asia and Egypt; (3) a strong impulse to culture was given, especially in the days of Ashurbanipal; and (4) the Babylonian calendar was probably adopted by the Hebrews in place of their own cumbrous system of dating (Ex. 34: 22).

(309) **The Religious Changes.** The anti-prophetic reaction is not hard to understand. The prophets, Isaiah and Micah, had not hesitated to denounce the monopolists and grafters and the religious formalists of their day, and, with Hezekiah's aid, to institute sweeping social and religious reforms. At least a generation was needed for

* For his empire see the map facing page 146.

the complete establishment of such innovations. With the quick succession of the very young Manasseh the believers in religious institutions and ceremonies and the conservatively minded and the religious grafters and the social monopolists had a chance to restore the conditions in which they delighted. A bitter conflict was inevitable. The prophets could not keep silence (21: 10-13), but now their speech was treasonable. Their blood flowed freely (21: 16), but they were driven into seclusion. This forced them to find new ways of promoting their ideals and led them to the important discovery that they could preach through the written word. Their energies gradually turned to the tasks of collecting, editing and producing literature of religious value.

(310) **The Literary Work of the Age.** Such references as Proverbs 25: 1 remind us that the whole century including the reign of Hezekiah was a period of possible literary activity, how extended we can only conjecture. The enforced retirement of Jehovah's adherents in Manasseh's reign probably gave an impulse to such productiveness. The prophetic sermons of the four great prophets of the eighth century were collected, edited, and reproduced. Not improbably the two great histories of the Hebrew people in current use ("J" and "E," see §§ 244, 264) were combined about this time into one continuous narrative ("JE"). This made a new and larger "Bible," preserving all that was most characteristic and valuable in each of these noble works, so dear to the religious heart of Israel. Not improbably the books of Samuel began to take shape (§ 164).

The motive for the undertaking of such tasks by prophets of Judah is readily conjectured. Quite probably also the important revision and expansion of the ancient Covenant code (§ 125) into a new "book of the law" which interpreted the covenant obligations in the clearer light of the prophetic principles of Amos and Isaiah was executed during these days. If all these activities took place, the reign of Manasseh was of great importance in the history of Israelitish growth.

XII

THE REFORM AND REORGANIZATION UNDER JOSIAH AND HIS PROPHETIC ASSOCIATES. 639-608 B.C.

(II Kings 22: 1-23: 27; II Chron. 34, 35; Zephaniah; Jeremiah 1-6; Deuteronomy, Nahum)

JUDAH	639	ASSYRIA
Josiah, 639-608		Ashurbanipal, 668-625
		Ashur-etil-ili
Jehoahaz, 608		Sin-shar-ishkun } 625-612
		Fall of Nineveh and end of the Assyrian Empire, 612
		CHALDEA
		Nabopolassar, 625-604

(311) The thirty years following the reigns of Manasseh and Amon were significant years for Judah. Once more the prophetic party held the friendship and support of the king and thus an ascendancy in the national life. Under the leadership of Zephaniah, Jeremiah and others, a strong program of reform was initiated and executed. Persistent evils were abated, the Temple was repaired, Judah's worship was officially centralized at Jerusalem and the Temple, and the principles which the prophets of the preceding century had laid down were expressed for popular guidance in the form of reformulated statutes. So long as Josiah lived the nation seemed to be transformed. Josiah's death revealed the eternal fact that a reformation of ordinances does not convert a nation. There was a sharp reaction. Nevertheless the work of Josiah and his lieutenants left an ineffaceable stamp upon the nation.

After the death of Ashurbanipal in 625 B.C., the Assyrian empire crumbled swiftly. The end came with the capture of Nineveh by the Medes in 612 B.C. Nahum's vigorous outcry must be dated shortly before.

1. THE EARLY YEARS OF JOSIAH'S REIGN; ZEPHANIAH'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF JEHOVAH'S "DAY." 639-625 B.C.

(II Kings 22: 1, 2; II Chron. 34: 1-7; Zephaniah)

(312) This material brings the student face to face with new conditions in Judah and in the outside world.

Zephaniah's Announcement that Jehovah's "Day" Would Be a Day of Doom for Unrepentant Judah. About 626 B.C.

[The superscription of the editor. 1:1.]

Jehovah's sweeping judgment about to dispose of Judah's idolaters and apostates. 1:2-6.

The "day of Jehovah" will be a day of wrath, terrible in its distresses, unsparing of any. 1:7-18.

Only the meek and righteous may escape. 2:1-3.

The judgment will fall upon Philistia, Ethiopia and Assyria, whose proud confidence will be shaken. 2:4-7, 12-15.

[Moab and Ammon for their arrogance shall be destroyed. 2:8-11.]

Defiant, rebellious Jerusalem and her faithless leaders cannot escape Jehovah's righteous judgment. 3:1-5.

Although a witness to Jehovah's dealings with other peoples, she has refused to take heed. 3:6, 7.

Jehovah's faithful "remnant" must patiently await its day of deliverance: 3:8, 11-13.

[All nations may share in it. 3:9, 10.]

Jehovah will then dwell among His people. 3:14-17.

[After the exile (20) every sort of sorrow and reproach shall be exchanged for praise and fame. 3:18-20.]

Note the early age at which King Josiah came to the throne (II Kings 21:24; 22:1), and, likewise, his reputed age when he initiated steps for the betterment of his kingdom (II Chron. 34:3). The prophet Zephaniah may have been of royal lineage (Zeph. 1:1). Study the conditions he denounces (1:4-6, 8, 9, 12, 13; 3:1-4), his description of what Jehovah's "Day" will turn out to be (1:7-10, 14-16, 18; 2:1; 3:8), the simplicity and directness of his promises (2:3; 3:9-13), his use of Isaiah's watchword (3:13), the world ranging character of his message of doom (2:4-15), the confident oracle predicting Assyria's fate (2:13-15) and the clear indication that he anticipated a judgment in the form of an invasion (1:7, 16).

(313) **Ashurbanipal's Closing Years.** Ashurbanipal's many campaigns, especially those against Babylonia, Elam, Egypt and the northern hordes, drained Assyria of blood and treasure. To the very last, however, he maintained his hold upon his empire. But the desperate struggles of the dozen years preceding 640 B.C. were won at terrible cost. Of the years which were contemporaneous with Josiah we know comparatively little in detail. They were quite certainly spent at Nineveh and filled with the activities of peace in which the cultured

monarch took great delight, — the erection of magnificent buildings and the collection of a remarkable library. For the farsighted among his loyal courtiers they must have been years of growing anxiety. Assyria's real power was rapidly being curtailed and her pride rebuked. It was becoming evident that the days of the great empire were numbered, unless Ashurbanipal should have a greater successor.

(314) **The Scythian Advance.** New peoples were thrusting themselves into western Asia. According to Herodotus the Scythians, a fierce and warlike people, came pouring at this time out of the distant north into the Assyrian empire, sweeping every obstacle out of their pathway. It was like an invasion of Europe by hordes of Tartars. They could not endanger well fortified cities or threaten well defended Assyria proper, but they ravaged the lands through which they wandered. They followed down the coast through Palestine almost to the very border of Egypt, but Psamtik I, a new and very able ruler of Egypt, bought or drove them off and delivered his land. The horde seems to have left Jerusalem untouched, both on the way down and on the return. This seems quite probable to one who knows Palestinian topography and recalls the consuming desire of the invaders for easy plunder. They constituted, however, a very real menace, and their invasion seems to be echoed in Zephaniah and in Jeremiah 4-6. As an organized aggressive force they gradually disintegrated, but not until they had made evident the weakness of the Assyrian empire.

(315) **The Early Reign of Josiah.** During the first half of Josiah's reign Judah was undisturbed by Assyria. The nation probably paid its tribute regularly. The young king was growing from childhood to maturity. He was evidently in sympathy with the prophetic party and under the influence of its leaders. The Chronicler records his very definite acceptance of their principles in his sixteenth year. He may have taken a place of leadership then. The record also states that when twenty years

old (about 627 B.C.) he began a work of reform. In view of the definite statements of the book of Kings, which places the removal of the high places and images after the discovery of the book of the law in the twenty-sixth year of his age and eighteenth of his reign, this prior reformation must be rated as tentative.

(316) **Zephaniah's Declaration of Doom for Impenitents.** Just at the end of this period, about 626 B.C., the prophet Zephaniah, speaking primarily for Judah and Jerusalem, declared that Jehovah was about to punish defiant iniquity everywhere, even the wicked pride of Assyria. His "Day" would be a day of reckoning. No longer would He endure the idolatry and skepticism of His own people. In His wrath He was preparing a solemn banquet whose guests would be the unnamed northerners. A few repentant ones only would be saved, the humble and righteous (2: 1-3; 3: 11-13). It was an austere gospel, combating the social and religious evils which were eating the heart out of Israel's life (1: 12). Zephaniah was as stern as a Puritan, morally earnest, unsparing. For that reason many scholars regard 2: 3, 7a, c; 3: 12, 13 as insertions by a later editor, like 2: 8-10, which is clearly later than the exile (Obad. v. 11), and 3: 9, 10, 14-20, describing the conversion of all peoples and the joy of the returned exiles, also evidently postexilic.

2. JEREMIAH'S SUMMONS TO PROPHETIC DUTY: HIS EARLY SERMONS. 626-621 B.C. (Jeremiah 1-6)

(317) These chapters describe Jeremiah's call and his early prophetic activity.

Jeremiah's Sudden Call (About 625 B.C.)

[Superscription of the editor. 1: 1-3.]

Jeremiah's summons to brave, far-ranging prophetic service. 1: 4-10.

His reassuring vision of the blossoming almond. "Jehovah is watchful" (see margin for the word-play). 1: 11, 12.

His vision of the boiling kettle, symbolizing the fiery flood of devastation from the north. "Be not afraid; you shall be secure." 1: 13-19.

His Earliest Sermons (Before 621 B.C.)

A historical retrospect: Israel, Jehovah's bride, repeatedly faithless to Him, will be forgiven gladly, if she is repentant. Jer. 2: 1 to 4: 4.

A series of brief, vivid poems (with interpolations) describing the terrible northern foe anticipated by the prophet as about to be the instrument of the richly deserved judgment of Jehovah upon his sinful people. 4: 5 to 6: 26.

4: 5-8. Blow the alarm signal.

4: 11-22. How can I endure the sight of my devastated land!

4: 23-26, 28. Behold its desolation!

4: 29-31. The people flee; Jerusalem bedecks herself in vain.

[5: 1-9, 20-31; 6: 9-15, 16-21. These disasters will be due to Judah's wickedness.]

5: 10-19; 6: 1-8, 22-26. The strange, terrible, pitiless, northern foe.

The hopeless task of the prophet. 6: 27-30.

Note the biographical data about Jeremiah suggested by Jer. 1: 1, 2 and I Kings 2: 26. Compare his call with Isaiah's inaugural vision (Isaiah 6) or with that of Hosea (Hosea 1: 2). What overcame Jeremiah's natural sense of immaturity and unworthiness (1: 9, 19; 6: 27)? Study the appropriateness of the two symbolic emblems (1: 11-15). Compare the future revealed to the young Isaiah with that unfolded before the young Jeremiah (Isaiah 6: 9, 10; Jer. 1: 18, 19). Study the varied figures of speech by which Jeremiah illustrated God's tender care for his people and their unresponsiveness (2: 2, 13, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26; 3: 4). Notice also his tender pleas for repentance (3: 12-15, 22; 4: 1-4). How did he describe existing religious conditions? (1: 16; 2: 18, 20, 28, 30; 3: 13; 4: 1). What kind of judgment did he predict? (4: 7, 13, 29; 5: 15-18; 6: 1-6, 22-26). Now sum up your impression of Jeremiah at the outset of his prophetic career.

(318) **The Book of Jeremiah.** The book of Jeremiah is chronologically in great disorder and topically not clearly arranged. It contains much editorial expansion and addition. The work of accumulation and arrangement began early. According to Jer. 36: 2-4 Baruch, in 604 B.C., at Jeremiah's dictation, wrote down the prophecies which had been delivered by Jeremiah up to that date, during twenty-two years (36: 9). Later on Baruch rewrote these same prophecies and added to them (36: 32). The first edition probably included chapters 2-9 and perhaps chapters 2-12. The second edition may have included the chapters (with some later additions) as far as chapter 20, chapter 25, the introductory chapter and por-

tions, at least, of chapters 46-49. All the rest of the book of Jeremiah is of later date, belonging to the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah and to the exilic period. The representative passages of each epoch will be considered. They furnish a vivid, first-hand story of the inner and outer struggles incident to the nation's downfall. The "Book of Hope" (30-33) which dates from the second siege of Jerusalem, or soon after, is generally counted as including the finest exhibit of Jeremiah's thinking.

(319) **Jeremiah's Call.** It was about 625 B.C. that Jeremiah became conscious that God had destined him to be a prophet. (Jer. 1:2.) His active ministry lasted more than forty years, so he must have been in the full vigor of young manhood. He hesitated in view of the stupendous difficulty of the task, but God encouraged him with two visions, the blossoming almond, symbolic of Divine watchfulness, and the huge caldron in the north ready to spill its seething contents over the land, a symbol of the fiery flood of war with which Jehovah would make good the judgments against his apostate people. The picture was not attractive to a man of Jeremiah's temperament, but Jehovah declared that amidst all opposition he would be perfectly secure (Jer. 1:18). Yet he became a prophet almost against his will.

(320) **His Early Sermons.** Jeremiah plunged into his work without delay. Chapters 2-6 represent his activity for the first five years (626-621 B.C.). They are, of course, a condensation, reproduced from memory (§ 318), of what Jeremiah actually preached during these years, merely the substance of it. The seven little poems about the anticipated invaders come the nearest to exactly remembered utterances. Jeremiah's preaching recalls the messages of Amos and Isaiah and especially of Hosea. The young prophet was an earnest student of these great predecessors, and quite as vigorous. Judah, he declared, was worse than Israel had been. Jerusalem was hopelessly corrupt, leaders and all. Divine judgment seemed imminent. Such preaching must have helped greatly to quicken the public conscience.

3. THE DECISION OF KING JOSIAH TO REPAIR THE TEMPLE AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE BOOK OF THE LAW. 621 B.C.

(II Kings 22:3-23:3; II Chron. 34:8-32)

Josiah's measures for the repair of the temple. II Kings 22:3-7; II Chron. 34:8-13.

The discovery of the "book of the law." II Kings 22:8-11; II Chron. 34:14-19.

Its confirmation as authoritative by Huldah, the prophetess. II Kings 22:12-20; II Chron. 34:20-28.

Its public reading followed by a popular acceptance of its provisions II Kings 23:1-3; II Chron. 34:29-32.

(321) These passages describe the repair of the Temple, the discovery of the "book of the law," and the remarkable impression it aroused.

Notice King Josiah's age when he determined to repair the Temple (II Kings 22:3-6), the fine spirit manifested by all (22:7, 9), the discovery of "the book of the law" (22:8), the impression made by it upon the king (22:10-12), his desire for full assurance (22:13-20), his promptness in having it publicly read (23:1, 2) and the solemn covenant of king and people to obey it (23:3). Note several interesting changes made by the Chronicler in his account, taken mainly from Kings (compare II Chron. 34:9, 11-13, 31, 32 with II Kings 22:4, 6; 23:3).

(322) **Various Factors Promoting Reform.** In addition to the direct effect of the vigorous prophesying of Zephaniah and Jeremiah and the concurrence of King Josiah, it is interesting to notice three other factors. The death of Ashurbanipal in 626-5 B.C. and the accession of a feeble successor gave a freedom of religious action in Judah unknown for decades. The faithful prophetic partisans who had endured for long years a fiery persecution must have been among those who heartily supported each movement made by the young king. To all these must be added Hilkiyah the priest and the officers of Josiah's court, whose friendly influence continued to be exerted even in darker days.

(323) **The Discovery of the Lawbook in the Temple.** The prosecution of the repairs upon the Temple which

Josiah ordered led to the discovery of a book of law, which was short enough to be read aloud easily, which evidently contained exhortations, warnings, threats and promises as well as laws. It was taken to the king and read by him. Having had it confirmed by the prophetess Huldah, Josiah had it publicly read, after which, with due ceremonies and as representing the people who were acquiescent, he made a covenant before God to keep its words.

(324) **This Lawbook was Deuteronomy.** Without doubt the book which formed the basis of this national covenant was the original Deuteronomy. It was called by the very names which are used in Deuteronomy. The temper of that book and its requirements correspond closely to the effect this book produced and to the reforms which were immediately carried through. No other early code requires the removal of the high places of the land and the centralization of all proper worship at the Temple. It included at least chapters 12-19, 26 and perhaps 28. These chapters contain the regulations enforced by the reformers. To make it a comprehensive law book the group of laws in chapters 20-26 and the decalogue and exhortations in chapters 5-11 were added at an early date. Eventually the introductory survey (1-4) and the impressive conclusion (29-34) made it into the book we use. The most probable view of the origin of the book makes it the product of the activity of the previous half century (§ 310). Whether it had been laid away for safe keeping and forgotten and why Josiah was wholly unacquainted with it are questions to which varying answers are given.

Deuteronomy

1-3. Historical introduction, reviewing the principal incidents of the march from Horeb to Beth-Peôr.

4: 1-40. Exhortation never to forget God's spirituality and exclusive godhead.

4: 44-49. Superscription to the law code.

5-11. The prophetic decalogue and the principles of national life growing out of it; loyalty to God, love for Him, extirpation of heathenism, obedience and dependence.

12: 1 to 16: 17. Laws relating to sacred observances: the single sanctuary, the repression of idolatry, ceremonial holiness, sacred dues and seasons.

16: 18-20; 17: 8 to 18: 22. Duties of officials; judges, the king, priest and prophets.

19: 1-21; 21: 1-9. Criminal laws.

20: 1-20; 21: 10-14. The conduct of warfare.

21: 15 to 25: 16. Miscellaneous laws relating to civil and family life.

26: 1-19. Two ceremonies to regularly remind every Israelite of his Divine obligations.

[27. Instructions regarding four ceremonies.]

28. A solemn peroration to the code.

[29, 30. A supplemental warning against apostasy.]

[31-34. A historical conclusion containing some very late material, such as the noble psalm, 32, and parts of 34.]

(325) **Deuteronomy a Reformulation of Older Law and Narrative.** The book of Deuteronomy is a fresh codification of the ancient laws of the Hebrew peoples in the spirit of the prophetic ideals of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. It "breathes the ethical fervor of Amos and of Isaiah as well as Hosea's tenderness and his zeal for education." It is an appeal to the popular conscience, providing definite regulations for adoption, thus emphasizing both ethics and ritual. It aimed to secure moral excellence under a system of inviolable law. An unusual book, it has had an extraordinary influence. Its history (1-3) is a repetition of the prophetic history, JE; its law is a restatement of the provisions of the early Covenant code (§ 125) with changes and additions which made it give clear expression to a monotheistic conception of Jehovah (Deut. 4: 32-40; 6: 1-15; 10: 12 to 11: 1) and to a noble view of history (8: 1-19; 11: 2-12) and gave it a far more detailed and friendly application to daily, personal and social life, inculcating the idea that religion must be carefully studied, discussed and taught. Its ordinances made one fundamental change in Judah's religious customs. Deuteronomy centralized all sacrificial worship at the Temple in Jerusalem, evidently as a means of promoting the establishment of prophetic ideals. The book is definitely attributed to Moses. This is true in the sense that the original, basic material was Mosaic.

(326) **The Historical Influence of Deuteronomy on Other Literature.** Cornill declared Deuteronomy to be the most influential book ever written. It shaped and standardized religious thought and practice, but it also furnishes a religious vocabulary and point of view, which

every student of the Bible recognizes at a glance. During the century following Josiah's reformation a school of thinkers and writers grew up who were interested to interpret the records of earlier ages for the sake of pointing out the errors made and the obvious reforms which were necessary. This Deuteronomic school produced the main portion of the book of Judges in the form familiar to us, furnishing the interpretative framework (§ 139). They made certain readily recognized additions to the JE narrative of the Conquest (Joshua 1: 1-9; 3: 7, 10*b*; 4: 14; 5: 1; 8: 30-35; 10: 40-42; 11: 14-23; 21: 43-45; 23: 9, 14*b*; 24: 11*b*, 13) which idealize, or at least generalize the records. They made relatively slight additions to the books of Samuel, and set themselves to the glorious task of compiling a similar history of the Hebrew people from the days of Solomon, which resulted in the books of Kings. The framework of the story of each reign, already noted (§ 228), was their contribution. The men of this Deuteronomic school were intensely in earnest. They converted folk tales into historical literature illustrative of the out-working of the Divine purpose in past history. With their day the primitive elements in Israelitish thinking wholly disappear.

4. THE GREAT REFORMATION PERIOD AND ITS RESULTANT PROSPERITY. 621-608 B.C.

(II Kings 23: 4-27; II Chron. 34: 33-35: 19; Nahum)

Josiah's abolition of the altars and symbols of Canaanite or Assyrian worship in Jerusalem. II Kings 23: 4-14; II Chron. 34: 33.

His abolition of the altars of sacrifice and of unworthy practices throughout the land. II Kings 23: 15-20, 24.

The great passover celebration. II Kings 23: 21-22; II Chron. 35: 1-19.

The compiler's comment. II Kings 23: 25-27.

(327) This material reports the steps taken to carry out the provisions of the Deuteronomic law in Judah and the general results. Within the thirteen years the exultant cry of Nahum against Nineveh was uttered.

Nahum's Prediction of Nineveh's Speedy Fall. (About 614 B.C.)

[Superscription of the editor. Nahum 1: 1.]

Jehovah's goodness and His sternness assure His judgment of the wicked and His care for Judah. 1: 2-15; 2: 2.

The capture and plunder of Nineveh, the lair of the old lion, is at hand. 2: 1, 3-13.

Bloody, deceitful Nineveh, like Thebes before her, will go to ruin. Who will lament her? 3: 1-19.

Notice the thorough-going way in which the king and his officers went about the reform. It amounted to a religious revolution (23: 4-14). What very famous shrine was destroyed (23: 15)? Note also the solemn conclusion of the whole enterprise (23: 21-23). Read II Chron. 35 which describes this passover as kept, not in accord with the newly adopted law or with the still older forms of observance, but as it would have been observed a century or more later.

(328) **The Sweeping Reforms.** Omitting minor details it is clear that the Temple, Jerusalem and the suburbs were cleansed of the altars and symbols of the older Canaanite and newer Assyrian worship and that within the limits of Judah — from Geba to Beersheba — the high places in the villages were defiled and their priesthood brought to Jerusalem, where alone sacrifices and festivals were to be held.* The work of centralization was final. The Temple became the only recognized abode of Jehovah worship. Never before had this been true. It was a great help to monotheism.

(329) **The Remainder of Josiah's Reign.** The decade or more that followed the great reformation was a period of happiness and prosperity. The nation increased steadily in population, wealth and strength. It obeyed the new law, whether contentedly or not. A brief passage in Jeremiah (11: 1-8) implies that he assented to its principles and assisted in urging upon the people its faithful observance. Certain hints in the record indicate that Josiah's authority extended beyond Geba or even Bethel into the old territory of the northern kingdom. The weakening of the Assyrian empire made this possible. Josiah seems to have considerably enlarged his boundaries. At all events he was a strong, patriotic, high-minded ruler.

* G. A. Smith has suggested that this action accounts for Jeremiah's removal from Anathoth to Jerusalem.

(330) **The Silence of Jeremiah.** From the days preceding the discovery of the Deuteronomic law book until the days of Jehoiakim, the successor of Josiah, there is no sure* record of Jeremiah's prophetic activity. Either he kept aloof, or did not care to include in the book which he dictated to Baruch any memoranda of this period. Perhaps we are justified in thinking that he was gradually disillusioned, coming to realize the temporary character of a reform based upon ordinances, however excellent, and not necessarily affecting the heart. Yet late in life (31:6) he predicted the renewal of worship at the Temple in terms which recognize it as the national center of worship.

(331) **The Prophecy of Nahum.** The prophecy of Nahum is unique in several ways. It is a study of Nineveh as the long triumphant but rapidly failing embodiment of savagery, pride and greed, all bringing her to unlamented ruin. It is a poem of wonderful vividness. Note especially 2:3-6 and 3:2, 3. It expresses in brief compass the "hope, wrath and just passion of vengeance" which had been gathering in the mind of all peoples for many decades. The devout reader need not be repelled by it as a wild cry for vengeance, unworthy of a true Israelitish mind. Assyria had been for a century the greatest human obstacle in the pathway of Jehovah's people. Nahum's message to the mind of a faithful Judean was really an assurance of the prospect of leeway, outlook and achievement in the future. It must be dated shortly before the fall of Nineveh, perhaps about 614 B.C.

(332) **The Siege and Capture of Nineveh.** The Assyrian empire went to pieces after the death of Ashurbanipal as rapidly as the northern kingdom did after the death of Jeroboam II. The end came with the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, 612 B.C. Those resolute and hardy mountaineers had by the middle of the seventh century B.C. become united under one sovereignty with Ecbatana as its capital. They made repeated attempts after Ashur-

*Professor Kent in *StOTiii*, 186-190, presents strong arguments for 3:6-16 and 31:2-30 as belonging to the latter part of Josiah's reign.

banipal's death, under Cyaxares (625-584 B.C.) their king, to capture Nineveh, but without success until joined by the Chaldeans under Nabopolassar, who had been made viceroy of Babylonia under Ashurbanipal's successor. This prince soon gained independence, and founded an empire which lasted only about eighty years but was very glorious. It is called either the Chaldean or new Babylonian empire. Nineveh was so absolutely destroyed that two hundred years later Xenophon led his ten thousand troops close by its site and never suspected that a buried city lay beneath the sod. The two conquering peoples divided central and western Asia between them. The Medes were mountaineers and took the regions east and north of the Tigris. This arrangement endured for decades.

XIII

THE RAPID DECLINE OF JUDAH PARALLELING THE RISE OF CHALDEA TO ASIATIC SUPREMACY (608-586 B.C.)

(II Kings 23: 28-25: 26; Jeremiah; Habakkuk; Ezekiel 1-24)

The vain attempt of Josiah to block Necho's advance. II Kings 23: 28-30; II Chron. 35: 20-24.

The universal lamentation over Josiah's death. II Chron. 35: 24, 25.

The popular choice of Jehoahaz (Shallum) as king. II Kings 23: 30.

Necho's reversal of this choice and selection of Jehoiakim. II Kings 23: 33, 34; II Chron. 36: 1-4.

Jehoiakim's first three regnal years. II Kings 24: 1.

(333) The peaceful and prosperous reign of Josiah was brought to a sudden and tragic close by the death of Josiah at Megiddo in 608 B.C. His promising son, Jehoahaz, who succeeded him, was dethroned by Pharaoh Necho, who, by right of conquest, was Judah's lord paramount. Necho placed on the throne of Judah a brother, Jehoiakim, a prince who was in most respects the opposite of his father. His reign of eleven years witnessed the crushing of Necho's aspirations toward Asiatic leadership, and the rise of Chaldea to supremacy in Mesopotamia and the west. In his day and through his influence there was a sharp reaction away from Deuteronomic ideals and a reestablishment of popular idolatry. Jeremiah saw that the collapse of the state and the destruc-

tion of the city was inevitable. The expression of his views gave him a living martyrdom for twenty years. The story of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, told briefly in the book of Second Kings but in graphic detail through the words of Jeremiah, is a narrative of steady decline and impending disaster for the nation, but of growing clearness of vision for the prophet. There are some questions regarding the dates of the principal events, but the adjustment of Jeremiah's prophecies and of the predictions of Nahum and Habakkuk is exact enough for all practical purposes.

1. JOSIAH'S TRAGIC DEATH AND THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIAKIM. 608-605 B.C.

(II Kings 23: 28-37; II Chron. 35: 20-25;
Jeremiah *passim*)

(334) This section includes the death of Josiah at Megiddo, the deposition of his successor by Necho, the early reign of Jehoiakim, and the distressed situation of Jeremiah.

The Prophecies of Jeremiah During the Early Years of Jehoiakim* (Prior to 605 B.C.)

The conspirators against Jeremiah to be dealt with by Jehovah. 11: 9-23.
"Why, O God, dost thou give such men prosperity?" [Answer] "Worse trials you will face." 12: 1-6.

At the potter's house. "Jehovah is as free in dealing with a nation as the potter in shaping clay." 18.

A Temple sermon. "This Temple will be destroyed, like that at Shiloh, if Judah's social sins continue." 7: 1 to 8: 3; 26.

Persistently corrupt Judah's inevitable fate. 8: 4-10: 25.

Symbolic declarations of judgment: the waist-cloth and the wine jars. 13: 1-14.

"O Jehovah, why compel me to suffer so unjustly?" 20: 7-18.

Jeremiah assured of God's continuing and precious fellowship. 15: 10-21.

How he learned through his afflictions to place his trust in Jehovah alone. 16: 1-17: 18.

* From this point on the student will notice that the references to Jeremiah's sermons follow a puzzling order. The one followed arranges them, as nearly as practicable, in the order in which they were preached. How they came to be in their present rather unintelligible order is one of the perplexities of Old Testament interpretation. Of course there is abundant room for differences of scholarly opinion in regard to details. The order adopted is only approximately accurate.

The broken water jar a warning of the destructive judgment of Jehovah. 19.

The public insult given to Jeremiah by Pashur, the priest. 20: 1-6.

The writing, destruction, and remaking of the collection of Jeremiah's early sermons. 36; 45.

(335) Note the new king of Egypt and his ambition (II Kings 23: 29) and the tragic outcome for Judah (II Kings 23: 29, 30). Note also the interest taken by the Pharaoh in Josiah's successor (II Kings 23: 30-35). Compare three interesting figures by which the prophets characterized the Assyrian power (Isaiah 10: 15; Nahum 2: 11, 12; Ezek. 31: 1-14). What characteristic prophetic method did Jeremiah repeatedly employ in his public appeals at this time of general hostility to him (18: 13, 19)? How was he treated by his countrymen (11: 8-23; 26: 8-11; 15: 10-18; 18: 18-23; 20: 14-18)? When he complained to God what reply did he get (15: 19-21; 16)?

(336) **The Death of King Josiah.** In 609 B.C. Necho succeeded his father Psamtik I on the throne of Egypt. He inherited a strong and prosperous empire and probably saw in the collapse of Assyria the opportunity to reestablish Egyptian influence in western Asia. He enlisted a large army of Greek mercenaries, marched northward to Megiddo, where either he summoned Josiah and executed him, replacing him eventually by a sovereign whom he counted reliable; or, if we follow the Chronicler, he overwhelmed the little army with which Josiah had the courage to confront him and slew its leader.

Students of history are perplexed over the proper explanation of this calamity. Was Josiah foolhardy, thinking possibly that so loyal a servant of Jehovah as he could defy mere power? Or was he put to death as a supposed rebel? Necho was probably desirous of securing for Egypt as much of what remained of the old Assyrian empire as possible. Whoever tried to block his purpose would have been regarded as an enemy.

(337) **The Brief Egyptian Overlordship.** Thus Judah came under Egyptian control. Necho pressed onward to the Euphrates, expecting to be met by a Chaldean army. Finding none he returned to Riblah on the Orontes,

which was favorably situated for controlling both Palestine and Syria. Here he sent for the new king of Judah, Jehoahaz, who had been placed on the throne by the "people of the land" (II Kings 23:30). It is not unlikely that the anti-Egyptian party chose him in place of his older brother because the latter was pro-Egyptian. At any rate Jehoahaz was not merely deposed, but loaded with chains and taken with every mark of ignominy to Egypt, where he died (Jer. 22:10-12). Necho then appointed Eliakim, the rejected son, to be king of Judah, giving him the name of Jehoiakim (23:34). Judah was heavily fined and the money collected promptly from the rash enthusiasts (23:35). Some two years later the Chaldean* king, Nabopolassar, was ready to try conclusions with Necho, with reference to the overlordship of Syria and Palestine. He intrusted the command of his army to his son, Nebuchadrezzar,† a young man of about twenty-one years of age. Necho hastened to meet the Chaldean army at the northern frontier of his new empire. He was decisively defeated at Carchemish in 605 B.C. and ceased to dream of northern conquests (24:7). His inglorious retreat made a deep impression upon the Hebrews (Jer. 46:1-12).

(338) **Internal Conditions in Judah.** With the death of Josiah and the elevation of Jehoiakim to the throne rapid changes ensued in Judah. Reform conditions disappeared (Jer. 11:9-13) and the old forms of worship were set up again (7:9; 8:2, 19). This does not mean that Jehovah was no longer worshipped, but that the prophetic standards were abandoned in favor of practices dear to many of the people. It was really a triumph of religious conservatism. The popular belief that Jerusalem was invincible had grown into a superstition which Jeremiah had to attack later on (7:8-15). Jeremiah's descriptions of the Divine purpose seemed to people and prince alike to be little short of blasphemous. They derided and persecuted him.

* This new dynasty in Babylonia had its origin in the South, Kaidu.

† His name in Kings and Daniel is given as Nebuchadnezzar. The more exact form, Nebuchadrezzar (*Nabu-kudur-uṣur*) is found in Jeremiah.

(339) **Jeremiah's Sad but Busy Life.** A relatively large share of Jeremiah's prophecies date within these few years. He was dead in earnest. He felt compelled to utter message after message of condemnation and ruin. These cut him off from human fellowship. His own neighbors in Anathoth conspired against him, trying to prevent him from preaching (11: 21); the people and his fellow prophets mobbed him (26: 8); Pashur, the priest, put him in the stocks (20: 2), and Jehoiakim's wrath forced him into hiding (36: 26). Though a man of great tenderness he was forbidden to marry and have a home and family (16: 1-4). He was bewildered by these bitter experiences, and even wondered how Jehovah in His providence could permit them to happen to him (12: 1-4). He was told in reply that he would meet yet greater trials (12: 5). Jeremiah, thus trained by discipline, became a man of resistless conviction, powerful because he vividly realized his close, conscious fellowship with God. Without fully knowing it he was through his own experience in the process of discovering a great forward step in religion, the recognition of the individual.

2. THE CHALDEAN MASTERY OF PALESTINE, 605 B.C.

(II Kings 24: 7; Jeremiah 46: 1-12; 25; [46-51];
Habakkuk)

(340) These passages reflect the overthrow of Necho by Nebuchadrezzar and the coming of the Chaldeans into touch with Judah.

The Words of Jeremiah

A taunt song: the boastful Pharaoh with his contingents has received a wounding not easily assuaged. 46: 2-12.

"My long continued ministry has failed to bring about repentance: the Chaldeans will be the executors of Divine judgment for seventy years." 25: 1-14.

The wine cup of Jehovah's wrath shall be drunk by other peoples. 25: 15-38; (46: 13-49: 39 reproduces later, fuller declarations).

Habakkuk's Meditations on God's Moral Ordering of the Situation

(Before 600 B.C.)

The swift and terrible Chaldeans are the agents of Jehovah's just judgments against wrongdoers and oppressors. 1: 1-11.

Shall Jehovah, the Holy One, make use of an inhuman, insatiable nation to execute His plans? 1: 12-17.

The Divine answer: wickedness is weakness; true righteousness is morally and spiritually permanent. 2: 1-4.

A five-fold woe upon the persistent evil-doer. 2: 5-20.

[A lyric describing Jehovah's march from Sinai to redeem his people. 3.]

Notice the passing from Necho to Nebuchadrezzar of the overlordship of Palestine (II Kings 24: 7; Jer. 46:2). What did Jeremiah declare that Nebuchadrezzar would do to the unrepentant people (Jer. 25:9-11)? Note the round number used in estimating the duration of Chaldean power (25:11). For the actual date of its termination see § 405. Compare Jer. 12: 1 with Hab. 1: 2-4, 13 to get at the problem which troubled many righteous souls. Is Habakkuk's answer (2: 4, see margin) adequate?

(341) **The Chaldean Victory at Carchemish.** History was made at Carchemish in 605 B.C. where the young Nebuchadrezzar defeated the forces of Necho so decisively. The victory determined the trend of Asiatic influence for several centuries. In particular it connected the Hebrew people with the conquerors for many decades, an experience of untold value to the former. The forecast of Jeremiah that Judah's immediate future was Chaldean proved wholly correct.

(342) **The Prophecy of Habakkuk.** This little book is full of puzzles. Many scholars think that it predicted that the Chaldeans were to execute Jehovah's vengeance on an earlier oppressor, Assyria or Egypt; that the date of 1: 1 to 2: 4 was anywhere between 615 and 605; and that the right order of reading should be 1: 1-4, 12-17; 2: 1-4; 1: 5-11. These are minor questions. The brief prophecy is packed with educative thought. Intellectually and morally it is impressive. Jehovah's exaltation, His providence, His control of the world, His justice and consistency, the crime of national oppression, the function of world-powers as moral scourges, the self-destructiveness of wrongdoing, the security of rectitude, the serene confidence which trust in Jehovah affords are some of its themes. It really discusses the Chaldean power in relation to Judah's discipline. Chaldea's mission is to sift

and test Judah, but she is an organization for spoliation sure to work out her own punishment. The righteous Hebrew can afford to wait patiently, steadfastly, trusting God and doing the right. This illumining idea undergirds all human moral and spiritual advance. It was the first and virtually the final answer to Israelitish skepticism.

3. JEHOIAKIM'S LAST SEVEN YEARS; JEREMIAH'S CONSISTENCY. 604-597.

(II Kings 24: 1-6; Jeremiah *passim*)

The guerilla warfare against Jehoiakim. II Kings 24: 2.

The editor's explanation of the situation. 24: 3, 4 (compare Jeremiah 22: 13-19; 12: 7-17; 13: 15-27).

The sudden death of Jehoiakim. 24: 5, 6.

(343) These verses describe the rest of Jehoiakim's reign, his submission to Nebuchadrezzar, his subsequent rebellion, the means taken by the great king to harass Judah and Jeremiah's activity.

Jeremiah's Words after 601

Jeremiah's estimate of royal duty and of the disappointments endured by the people. 21: 11 to 23: 8.

Judah's unfortunate pride and disobedience promises inevitable ruin. 13: 15-27.

The drought in Judah and Jeremiah's intercession. 14: 1-15: 9.

Jehovah mourns over the devastation of his land and will requite it. 12: 7-13.

How the Rechabites served Jeremiah as an object lesson of real loyalty. 35.

Note the brevity of Jehoiakim's loyalty to Nebuchadrezzar (II Kings 24: 1), that sovereign's first move (24: 2) and his eventual program (24: 10). Notice that out of twelve verses (23: 36 to 24: 10) all but three constitute the customary, formal framework of Kings. Study Jeremiah's bold review of Hebrew royalty as known to him (Jer. 21: 11 to 23: 8), noting the four personages mentioned. Study also the Rechabite episode (35).

(344) **The Chaldean Conqueror, Nebuchadrezzar.** News of his father's death came to Prince Nebuchadrezzar while following up the retreating Egyptians. He hastened to Babylon and was accepted without question

as his father's successor. He thus began a reign of over forty years (604-562 B.C.), remarkable alike for splendor, achievement and wisdom. The treaty with the Medes left him free to develop the resources of his empire. He made the city of Babylon a wonder of the world for strength and glory. He developed commerce, united his empire, ruled it sternly but fairly, and promoted peace by pitilessly punishing disturbers. A man of deep religious spirit, he gloried in his civic achievements as the finest tribute of service he was able to pay to his gods. From his own standpoint he treated the Hebrews with unusual generosity. How unfortunate it is that the (very late) book of Daniel gives to most people their impression of him as a sovereign instead of what Jeremiah, Baruch and the editors of Ezekiel say about him.

(345) **Jehoiakim's Later Reign.** For three years Jehoiakim paid tribute regularly to Chaldea (II Kings 24: 1). The reason for his refusal to continue to do this is not given in Kings. It would seem incredible that he could listen to any promises or suggestions from Egypt after her recent humiliation, but no better explanation is available. There were always in Judah those who "drank the waters of the Nile" (Jer. 2: 18). No other people joined Judah. The great king did not at once move against Jehoiakim, but sent against him the bands of Chaldean soldiers left here and there in the Westland and the Syrian, Moabite and Ammonite auxiliaries. Such guerilla warfare continued for several years.

In 597 B. C. Nebuchadrezzar sent an army to besiege Jerusalem, following it to take personal charge of the campaign (II Kings 24: 11). At or just before this crisis Jehoiakim died. II Kings 24: 6 implies that he died a natural death. The statement of the Chronicler (36: 6) that he was taken into exile lacks confirmation from any source.

(346) **The Religious Values of These Eleven Years.** The recorded utterances of Jeremiah at this time all seem to belong to the very end of Jehoiakim's reign. He saw no hope, and simply expressed the serious guilt of king

and people and declared their inevitable fate. With his genius for dramatic illustration he used the men of the nomad tribe of Rechabites, whose ancestor had been an adherent of Jehu in the work of reform (II Kings 10: 15-17), as striking illustrations, in their firm adherence to ancestral commands, of the prompt obedience which the people of Judah ought to render to the clear commands of Jehovah (Jer. 35).

Jehoiakim's eleven years of hostility to Jeremiah did one great service to religion. Jeremiah had pointed out the weaknesses of public policies, had challenged false leadership of every type and constantly had pointed out the certain doom toward which the nation, beloved of Jehovah but disloyal to Him, was drifting. His lot was a very hard one, so that he cried out against it. He became a very lonely figure. His loneliness threw him back upon God and gave him a growing sense of personal fellowship with the Divine, which was a virtual discovery. Having realized this relationship, the secret of his growing steadfastness, he was ready to advance to the yet greater discovery of the place of the individual in God's plans. Two such advances in religious thinking were worth much tribulation.

4. THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIACHIN, THE CAPITULATION OF JERUSALEM AND THE FIRST CAPTIVITY. 597 B.C.

(II Kings 24: 8-16; Jeremiah 13: 18, 19; 22: 24-30)

The brief reign of Jehoiachin. II Kings 24: 8, 9.

The surrender of Jerusalem and first captivity. 24: 10-16.

(347) These passages describe the succession of Jehoiachin, his quick surrender of Jerusalem, and the deportation of many of the better classes by Nebuchadrezzar.

Read again Jer. 13: 18, 19 and 22: 24-30 for the two passages which Jeremiah denotes to the ill-fated prince, Jehoiachin (Coniah), doomed to hopeless, heart-sickening exile. Read in contrast with II Kings 24: 8-16 the unusually terse record of the Chronicler (II Chron. 36: 9, 10). Note the measures taken by the conqueror to make his conquest permanent (II Kings 24: 13-16).

(348) **The Brief Reign of Jehoiachin.** Jehoiakim was succeeded on the throne by Coniah, his son, a youth of eighteen. His mother was apparently a woman of some ascendancy, to judge from the prominence given her in the record and by Jeremiah. The new name Jehoiachin was taken by the king as his royal name. He had no chance to show his ability. The great king came in person to push the siege of Jerusalem. With wisdom the young ruler surrendered unconditionally.

(349) **The First Captivity.** The prompt surrender of the king and his people to Nebuchadrezzar secured for them a relatively mild punishment. Apparently none were put to death. The great king deported the royal family, the court, the important leaders and many artisans. It was Jeremiah's opinion (Jer. 24) that the very flower of the population was carried away. Why Jeremiah himself, as well as Ezekiel, was not carried off, is a matter for speculation. Nebuchadrezzar clearly intended to take away those who were most likely to raise the standard of rebellion. Estimates of the number deported vary. Jeremiah 52:28 enumerates 3,320; II Kings 24:14 mentions 10,000, a round number probably. Perhaps the former estimate counted only heads of families. They were settled in distant Babylonia, in villages, along the canal Kabar or Chebar (Ezek. 1:3), where they were allowed to form an organized community and to live a relatively free, quiet life under their own leaders. According to II Kings 24:13 and Jeremiah 27:19 Nebuchadrezzar partially stripped the Temple, but he did not cripple its service or place a foreign governor on the throne.

5. THE EARLY REIGN OF ZEDEKIAH, 597-592.

(II Kings 24:17-20 α ; Jeremiah 17:19-27;
22:1-9; 23; 24; 27-29)

Zedekiah made king of Judah. II Kings 24:17-20.

How Jeremiah tried to prevent rebellion. Jer. 27, 28, 29.

(350) These passages throw a vivid light on the spirit of the Jewish people during the first five years of Zedekiah's reign.

Jeremiah's Prophetic Words

His letter to the restless captives in Babylonia: Settle down; heed not false advisers; your captivity will be long. 29.

His vivid comparison of the exiled Judeans with their worthless brethren left in Judah. 24.

His warning to King Zedekiah. 22: 1-9.

His denunciation of the false prophetic leaders, so superficially optimistic, so lacking in real conviction, supporters of evil. 23: 9-40.

His public, symbolical appeal to the ambassadors and to Judah against an alliance against Babylon. 27. ["Jehoiakim" in 27: 1 must be an error. See 28: 1.]

His strenuous encounter with Hananiah, the leader of the opposition. 28.

A warning to keep the Sabbath.* 17: 19-27.

Note that both the editor of Kings (II Kings 24: 20) and the Chronicler (II Chron. 36: 12) agree in discrediting the reign of Zedekiah. Study Jeremiah's idea of the relative value of the first group of exiles and those who were left behind (Jer. 24). Note his own conception of the length of the exile (29: 5-7, 10). Read Jeremiah 23: 9-40. Note his charges against his prophetic opponents (vs. 11, 14, 16, 17, 28, 30-32). Study chapters 27 and 28 as an interesting episode in prophetic history, sharply contrasting the two bold prophetic leaders. Compare Jeremiah's method with that of Isaiah (Jer. 28: 10; Isa. 20: 3).

(351) **The New King, Zedekiah.** Nebuchadrezzar placed upon the throne of Judah another son of Josiah, named Mattaniah, whose name was changed to Zedekiah. The conqueror counted confidently upon his obedience, seeking to assure this by transferring to Babylonia all the leaders of the professional, intellectual, and religious classes. Hence Zedekiah had to find his advisers among their inferiors. Ezekiel draws a picture of these leaders quite as striking as Jeremiah's (Ezek. 11: 1-3; 8: 7-18). They were inexperienced and restless, headstrong and foolish, blind to the real situation and bent on playing the game of politics. They inherited from Isaiah's day a belief in the inviolableness of the holy city which no words of Jeremiah could seem to shake. Zedekiah was too weak to cope with them. Only by the bold and outspoken stand of Jeremiah was an alliance with Moab, Ammon and other countries prevented.

* Some students make this postexilic. Compare Nehemiah 13: 19-27. But Deuteronomy 5: 12-15 justifies it.

(352) **Jeremiah Against the Prophets.** The great body of prophets evidently favored the plan of revolution. Jeremiah had to manifest the most uncompromising opposition to them and their words. Hananiah, their leader, even dared to declare publicly in Jehovah's name, in contradiction to Jeremiah, that within two years the Chaldean empire would be shattered (Jer. 28: 11). Jeremiah denounced these prophets as mercenary deceivers (compare Micah 3: 5), immoral, blinded, deluded partisans, who knew neither Jehovah nor His purposes and ways. Yet apparently they appealed to Jehovah just as Jeremiah did. Their idea of God's character and purpose, their careless attitude toward popular wickedness, even their brand of patriotism were traditional. No wonder the king was sorely puzzled at times how to act. These false prophets were a great stumblingblock to Judah.

6. THE MINISTRY OF EZEKIEL TO THE EXILED JUDEANS. 592-586 B.C. (Ezekiel 1-18, 20-24.)

(353) These chapters tell the story of the ministry of Ezekiel to the exiles during the last six years of Zedekiah's reign.

The Early Prophecies of Ezekiel

Ezekiel's vision of the omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient Jehovah on His throne, guarded by the four living creatures. 1: 1-28.

His Divine commission to deliver a message of doom to his disbelieving and stubborn people. 2: 1-3: 15.

His appointment also as a personal watchman and pastor. 3: 16-27.

Four symbolical predictions (drawing a picture of a siege, lying on his side a day for each year of exile, baking and eating famine bread, shaving his body clean) of the certain fate of Jerusalem. 4: 1-5: 17.

Religious abominations doomed. 6: 1-7: 27.

Jerusalem's abominable idolatries warranting a pitiless slaughter, a burned city, the rebuking of its guilty rulers and the departure of Jehovah. 8: 1-11: 25.

The folly of the popular deference paid to the shallow, time-serving prophets and the disregard of genuine prophetic leaders. 12: 1-14: 11.

Jerusalem, like a useless vine, burned at both ends, is only fit for destruction. 15.

The shameful moral record of Jerusalem, Jehovah's bride. 16.

Her faithless king, Zedekiah, and the certain destruction of his kingdom. 17.

The principles of Divine procedure: retribution is for sin; each individual determines his own destiny and must bear the consequences. 18.

A few righteous inhabitants will not save a guilty land. 14: 12-23.

Israel's persistent idolatry will not prevent Jehovah from carrying through His purposes. 20: 1-44.

The sharpened sword of Jehovah's agent. 20: 45-21: 32.

The classes and the masses in Jerusalem equally sinful. 22.

The entangling alliances of Samaria and Jerusalem a warning to the world. 23.

Jerusalem a rusty kettle to be cleansed only by fire. 24: 1-14.

The sudden death of Ezekiel's wife a tragic earnest of the stunning calamity soon to be realized by the captives. 24: 15-27.

Study the details of Ezekiel's inaugural vision: the vast storm cloud out of the north, the flashing fire, amber-like in its glow, the living creatures, the great throne and upon it the appearance of the "likeness of Jehovah's glory." What he saw was really undescrivable. The reticence and reverence of the sketch overbears its grotesque features. He seemed to see God in the splendor of His majesty.

While reading the chapters as outlined, recall that Ezekiel's task during the next five or six years was that of convincing the exiles that Jerusalem and the Temple were doomed.

(354) **The Book of Ezekiel.** The book of Ezekiel is exactly divided into two great sections. Chapters 1-24 record the work of the prophet before the fall of Jerusalem. The second half consists of chapters 25-32, predictions against various nations; chapters 33-39 a group of comforting messages; and chapters 40-48 the vision of the reconstructed city and temple. It is a carefully edited book of remarkable interest, but especially valuable for its record of the methods by which Ezekiel ministered wisely to the exiles of his day.

(355) **Ezekiel the Priest.** Ezekiel was both priest and prophet. He exercised no sacerdotal functions, but he belonged to the priestly caste and had the priestly habit of mind. He was, distinctively, a man of the study, yet statesmanlike. One who reviews his writings with care is impressed by the depth and range of his thought. His curious visions embodied strong convictions. He was evi-

dently a man of broad culture, a master of civil and ritual law and of the historical and prophetic writings of his people. In many ways he was rarely fitted for the two-fold task of being a pastor to the bewildered people in exile with him and of discovering and developing a new ritual basis to fit the Divine requirements.

(356) **Ezekiel's Vision and Call.** The record in chapters 1: 1 to 3: 21 conveys Ezekiel's own description of the vision through which he received his summons to responsible leadership. With a complicated symbolism that is rather bewildering and probably reflects the grotesque imagery which faced one on every palace or temple in Babylonia, Ezekiel set forth his conviction that Jehovah's presence was with His people in exile with all His power and knowledge and purpose and that He called the prophet to significant service for them.

(357) **His Sermons for Five Years.** Ezekiel represents himself as being most of the time in retirement. He acted out some of his symbolic prophecies, but made no attempt to deal with men except in private or by the written message. Probably the people were not in a listening mood. His symbolic actions preached to them for him, making them think. A general result of his efforts was the gradual reconciliation of the exiles to their conditions. But Ezekiel was a thinker. He not only set forth a noble conception of Jehovah and of His providence (20), insisting on His goodness and grace (18: 23, 31, 32), but he co-operated with Jeremiah by declaring the need of new hearts and right spirits (11: 19; 18: 31, cf. Jer. 24: 7) and by setting forth more clearly the great principle of individual responsibility (18).

7. THE REBELLION OF ZEDEKIAH AND THE CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. 586 B.C.

(II Kings 24: 20b-25: 22; Jeremiah 21; 30-34; 37: 11-40: 6)

Zedekiah's rebellion. II Kings 24: 20b.

The long siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. II Kings 25: 1-2.

Their temporary withdrawal to meet the advancing Egyptians; what befell Jeremiah. Jer. 34, 37, 38.

The capture of the city and of the king. II Kings 25: 3-6.
 The sweeping judgments inflicted by Nebuchadrezzar. 25: 6-21.
 Gedaliah made governor of Palestine and his fate. 25: 22-26.

(358) These passages relate the details of the rebellion of Zedekiah, the investment of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, the capture of the city, its destruction and the deportation of the inhabitants.

Jeremiah's Prophecies in Connection with the Fall of Jerusalem

Jeremiah's reply to Zedekiah's query whether Jehovah would deliver the city: There is no hope; Jehovah will fight against you; only surrender will save life. 21: 1-10.

His later advice: The city will be taken. (Surrender and) you shall be given royal clemency and favor. 34: 1-7.

His denunciation of the breach of faith toward the liberated slaves on the part of the princes and people. 34: 8-22.

His declaration that Nebuchadrezzar would return to prosecute the siege of the city. 37: 1-10.

His bold, symbolical prediction of the certain restoration of the exiles to Judah. 32 (especially verses 6-15).

His Vision of a Spiritualized Future: the "Book of Hope"

A new record of prophetic interpretation to be prepared. 30: 1-4.

Jehovah's "day" to be eventually a day of deliverance. 30: 5-17.

Ephraim to be restored also to prove Jehovah's goodness and loving kindness. 30: 18-31: 20.

Ephraim and Judah alike will then rejoice. 31: 21-26.

In those days each individual shall be responsible for himself. 31: 27-30.

Jehovah's new covenant will be written on each heart. 31: 31-34 (compare 3: 14-28).

Jehovah Himself will be the assurance of new Israel's permanence. 31: 35-40.

Restoration and happiness will come by and by to Jerusalem, now besieged and desolated. 33: 1-13.

Jehovah will raise up a righteous BRANCH to rule over the righteous nation under a promise which is unbreakable. 33: 14-26.

(359) Notice how important the records preserved in the book of Jeremiah became for this period, especially chapters 34; 37: 11 to 40: 6. Note also how long Jerusalem — a natural fortress — held out against the Chaldean army and why she had to capitulate (II Kings 25: 1-3). Consider the absolute perfidy of the Jerusalem nobles (Jer. 34: 8-22). Note the treatment awarded the prophet among his own people (37: 11 to 38: 28; 39: 15-18). Contrast with it the Chaldean treatment of him (39: 11-14). Study Jeremiah's last, vividly symbolic testi-

mony to his confidence that there would be a restoration after a long exile (32: 6-25).

Read the "Book of Hope" with care, guided by the outline. It contains material of later date but not much. It brings out the forward step in religious thinking forced by the downfall of city, temple and kingdom.

(360) **The Rebellion of Zedekiah.** In 588 B.C. a new, vigorous, and ambitious king, Hophra or Apries, ascended the throne of Egypt. He had longings for Asiatic conquest and joined with the false prophets of Judah and with Judah's little sister peoples in urging Zedekiah to revolt. This combination was quite too much for the weak king to withstand. Notwithstanding the steady opposition of Jeremiah, Judah revolted. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel (17: 1-21) denounced this act as treachery to Jehovah himself. By the end of the year the Chaldeans had overrun Palestine, conquering without serious opposition every opponent but Tyre, Lachish, Azekah, and Jerusalem (Jer. 34: 7). The great king placed his headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes, a favorite site for the permanent camp of many of his predecessors. Jerusalem held out bravely for over a year against the Chaldean besiegers. No doubt many of the defenders hoped for Egyptian aid. Jeremiah, when interrogated by Zedekiah, held out no hope. He declared that unconditional surrender was the only practicable step to take.

(361) **The Sudden Raising of the Siege.** For the sake of winning Jehovah's favor the leading Jerusalemites had bound themselves by a solemn covenant (Jer. 34: 8-10) to comply with the Deuteronomic law which called for the freeing of every Hebrew slave who had served his master six years (Deut. 15: 12-15). Hardly was the ceremony over, when the Chaldean army moved away from the walls of the city. With equal promptness the slave owners broke the covenant and re-enslaved the freed men (Jer. 34: 11). This cynical and shameless procedure evoked a sharp rebuke from the prophet. The real reason for the withdrawal of the Chaldeans had been the tidings of an advancing Egyptian army (Jer. 37: 5). The Chaldean

forces met it and drove it back to Egypt without much trouble. Egyptian aid had again proved of no real value. The siege of Jerusalem was very soon tighter than ever.

(362) **The Persecution of Jeremiah.** The prophet's unmeasured denunciation of the bad faith of these Judean magnates and his continued declaration that the siege would be renewed and Jerusalem captured infuriated the leaders. They threw him into prison on a sudden charge of treason (Jer. 37: 11-15). Zedekiah managed to lighten the severity of Jeremiah's imprisonment (37: 16-21), but not for long. The prophet was thrown into a cistern to starve (38: 1-6). Only the secret support of the king and the courage of a friendly eunuch of the palace (38: 7-13) saved him from death. Thereafter he was kept a prisoner in the palace until the end of the siege (38: 28).

(363) **His Demonstration of His Confidence in the Future and His Final Prophecies.** During these final days, while Jeremiah was a prisoner, he showed in a striking way his entire confidence in his own predictions of the future. An ancestral piece of property was purchased by him and the title registered in the belief that Judean land would once again have value (32: 6-15). No declaration could have sounded so loudly as that formal business transaction.

Chapters 30-33 form an adequate conclusion to his prophetic thinking. The nation could go to pieces, but God was not hampered thereby. In the future the righteous individual would be the working unit in religion. Such an individual or a group of them could function anywhere in the world. Religion became movable. Thus Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's development of individualism opened the way for the missionary interpretation of religion — another forward step of the greatest importance.

(364) **The Capture and Destruction of the City.** In July, 586 B.C., a year and a half after the first appearance of the Chaldeans (II Kings 25: 1-3), a breach was made in the wall of Jerusalem and their soldiers poured into the doomed city. Zedekiah and a band of warriors escaped

through the southern gate of the city by night (25:4) and fled toward the Jordan valley. They were overtaken by the Chaldean horsemen and taken before Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah, where the king and his sons were made to realize the bitterness and anguish of defeat (25:5-7). They were put to death and he was blinded and taken in chains to Babylon.

By its unprovoked rebellion and long-continued resistance Jerusalem had marked itself in Chaldean eyes for destruction. The army went about its work with great thoroughness. The Temple was stripped of everything of value and then burnt, together with the royal palace and much of the city (25:9, 13-17). The walls were also demolished (25:10), and Jerusalem made a ruin, which should witness to the folly of braving the displeasure of the great king.

(365) **The Disposal of the Survivors.** With similar care the Chaldeans dealt with the remaining population. The ringleaders, such as the chief priest and the leading officials, were taken to Riblah and there put to death (II Kings 25:18-21). Jeremiah, whose work had become known to the victors, was given permission to choose his own fate (Jer. 40:1-6). Many were deported to Babylonia, but most of the peasantry were undisturbed (II Kings 25:12). Nebuchadrezzar had no desire to make the land a wilderness, but he proposed to put an end forever to rebellions. The actual number of those deported is reckoned in Jeremiah 52:29 as eight hundred and thirty-two, which seems incredibly small, even if reckoned as heads of families. Over the few whom war and pillage had left in the land, Nebuchadrezzar appointed a governor, Gedaliah, the grandson of Josiah's faithful counsellor, a choice man, to whom all the Jews round about began quickly to rally (25:22-23). He established his seat of government at Mizpah and began the work of allaying fear and recuperating the land. His choice, instead of that of a Chaldean, was a fair proof that the great king wished well of the conquered land.

8. JUDAH'S LAST HALF CENTURY. 639-586 B.C.

(366) A survey of the period from Josiah's accession until the destruction of Jerusalem recalls the active struggle for the mastery between the forces which aimed to establish an ideal state ruled in the fear of Jehovah and the influential group, often supported by royal example, which loved the old ways in religion and business. Josiah and the prophetic and priestly leaders who set up the Deuteronomic regime were men of deep sincerity and earnestness. They hoped by strict obedience to the law as interpreted in Deuteronomy to assure a national righteousness which Jehovah would assuredly bless. Jeremiah seems to have joined them heartily at the first, but he had little to say after a while, and probably became increasingly doubtful of the permanence of that sort of reform. He realized the strength of the congenital Canaanitish heathenism in the popular affection, and saw that no ordinances, however good, could change a heart. The sudden breakdown of the Deuteronomic reform after Josiah's death and the accession of Jehoiakim confirmed him in this view. The battle he fought during the next twenty years was for the individual recognition of Jehovah and obedience to him. He placed less and less confidence in the forms or props of religion, even predicting calmly the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, of whose inviolableness Isaiah had been confident, and the passing of the state. To him the one thing needful was a personal knowledge of Jehovah and allegiance to Him.

(367) **The Prophetic Teaching of the Seventh Century.** The five prophets who declared the Divine will to the Judean people between the days of Isaiah and the downfall of Jerusalem make a group, less compact and unified, but quite as interesting and important as the quartet of eighth century leaders. These seventh century prophets did their work within a relatively short period, the last forty years (626-586), Zephaniah leading off, Jeremiah continuing throughout. Nahum and Habakkuk represented the religious survey of the character, career

and significance of the two great empires which shaped most decisively the Israelitish mind and gave it an outlook upon the real world. Nahum may well have influenced Habakkuk. The latter sees with equal clearness the essential weakness of the policy of plunder and greed. He states less forcibly the avenging wrath of Jehovah, who makes thorough work with corruption (Na. 1:9), but emphasizes the enduring holiness and wisdom that gives a religious minded man the readiness to wait for His Divine purpose to come to expression. Habakkuk is the greater thinker. He may well have influenced Jeremiah to take that broad-ranging view of Divine Providence which gave him support in his twenty years of controversy with narrow-visioned men of power. Zephaniah's value was in his clear-cut analysis of the religious situation which existed in the early days of Josiah, and his very definite declaration of the Divine attitude toward it.

(368) **Its Comparison with Earlier Prophecy.** In the earlier review (§ 304) of the prophets of the latter half of the eighth century, we noted nine rather distinct ideas: Jehovah a moral Being; the ruler of the world; requiring His covenanted people to be loyal to His ideals; observing that their real life precluded this loyalty and was too firmly rooted to be altered; concluding, therefore, to bring them to conscious repentance by the way of judgments through the Assyrian; intending the judgment to be disciplinary, redemptive, and resulting in a "remnant"; planning to furnish the "remnant" with adequate leadership; deciding for its sake to preserve Jerusalem intact; and expecting that thus Israel would rise to the height of her real task.

The prophets of the latter part of the seventh century were familiar with these great ideas and built upon them to a large extent. They dwelt upon Jehovah's universal moral sovereignty which led him to demand of all nations that they recognize moral and spiritual obligations. Habakkuk speaks of God's eternal goodness on which humanity may rely with absoluteness. These permanent

and universal qualities of the Divine took a new hold upon the prophets who were struggling with intensely perplexing conditions, politically and socially. Whether Zephaniah was as interested in the future work of the righteous "remnant" as he was in predicting the sure destruction that was bound to come upon haughty and self-satisfied (Zeph. 2: 15) Nineveh is a matter for speculation. There can be no doubt, however, that Jeremiah, whose thinking compassed the days of his three contemporaries, was gradually led, through his very acceptance of the facts that Judah was too far involved in guilt to be able to repent and that she was sure to be humiliated and her national existence brought to an end, even the Temple being destroyed, to declare more clearly than ever Jehovah's continuing purpose for the world through His people, their certain preservation in a form which would maintain their usefulness, their return after a time of indefinite length, seventy years, their assured leadership* (33: 15; 23: 5, 6), and a future which seems more distinctively missionary in its outlook than that formulated by Isaiah (3: 14-18; 12: 14-17; 16: 19-21). He was led besides by his long and varied experience to three very important additions to religious thinking. The first of these was a deeper sense of the nature of sin, as something for which each one is responsible (4: 4; 17: 9), which hardens the heart (7: 24; 9: 14) and creates a barrier between man and God. Again Jeremiah realized, as few before him, the fellowship of man with God. Finally he reached the great conception of the new and vital relationship which Jehovah was going to establish with every worshipper, the "new covenant written on the heart," expressed in the definite knowledge of Jehovah by each one (9: 24) and in doing His will in thought, word and deed. The moment people began to think of themselves individually as children of God, directly responsible to Him and not merely as members of a religious

* These passages are regarded as postexilic by many, on the ground that Jeremiah would not anticipate that national development would come through the degenerate Judean royal race. Very naturally, however, he might use the form of words while still thinking of a real spiritual leader.

community, responsible to its rulers, a new spiritual era dawned in religious history.

(369) **The Other Literature of the Century.** In addition to this current prophetic literature, the Deuteronomic code (§ 324), the great combined prophetic History of the Hebrews, JE (§ 310) and the official chronicles which were kept concerning each king, three sorts of literature may be specified which were probably "under way." The history of Samuel as a judge, from which were taken chapters 1: 1 to 4: 1a; 7: 3 to 8: 21; 12 and 15 of the book of First Samuel, passages which interpret the history of that day quite differently from the fairly contemporary narrative of the founding of the kingdom in I Sam. 9-11, 13, 14, cannot have been later than the seventh century and probably belongs to the early portion of the century. The whole book of Samuel may have been completed during the century. The Psalter, as a whole, is clearly a postexilic collection. It was the hymnal of Judaism. Most, if not all, of the psalms have gone through much editing and adaptation. Verses 7-10 of psalm 24 might conceivably be very early; but verses 1-6 required the insight of a long range of prophets for their development. Psalm 60 illustrates the clearly post-exilic envelopment, verses 1-5 and 10b-12, of an early poem which reflects with equal clearness the days of Israel's pride. There is no more complex and puzzling problem than the real history of the Psalter. It is fair to say, however, that there were people in these centuries capable of writing psalms and that such collections as the Korahite and Asaphite groups may fairly represent relatively early specimens. It is quite impossible, however, to give dates. The Proverbs must be similarly treated. We have no reason for declaring that no proverbial collections had been made before 586 B.C. Proverbs 25:1 is some evidence to the contrary. But how extensive they were is very conjectural. The book of Proverbs is a postexilic book.

The literary history of northern Israel ended when it had just fairly begun. Possibly many treasures were lost

in the struggles with Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser. Whatever we have was preserved and generally was edited by scholars of Judah. The age of Manasseh deepened the literary interest of the Judean prophetic circles and the success of Deuteronomy developed a literary passion among them. From the days of the exile the making and preservation of literature was a highly honored professional duty.

(370) A Review of Israel's and Judah's Careers.

Duration of the Period. What was its exact length? What four dates seem most significant?

Its Great Events. Thinking back over these centuries, name the ten events of first importance.

Its Noteworthy Leaders. Name the five greatest kings of Israel or Judah; the five greatest names in history outside of these countries; the five greatest prophets in the order of their importance; five men of importance mentioned in the history, not belonging to any of these groups.

The Nations with which the Hebrews were in Contact. In the course of our study of these centuries since the Disruption at least fourteen nationalities have been mentioned. Mention three great ones and three of second rank.

The Records of Literature. How many Biblical books have been wholly or substantially considered during our study of the period? Which were noteworthy from the viewpoint of literary charm? Mention ten great passages which every one should know and enjoy.

Their Value as Descriptive of the Life of the Hebrews in their Day. What records give the reader a peculiarly vivid understanding of the life of the people? Give half a dozen illustrations of this.

Their History of Prophecy. Think back through them, placing each of the thirteen prophetic leaders mentioned in his historical order, and stating what each one stood for in his day.

Their History of the Temple. Review the history of the Temple, its priesthood and its service.

Their Story of Political Development. Review the shaping influence upon the Hebrew people of their political history. What were the political and religious causes of the decline and fall of the kingdom?

Their Story of Social Development. By what stages did the Hebrew people become the cultured community which could boast such thinkers as Habakkuk and Jeremiah?

Their Story of Religious Development. Formulate to yourself the religious consciousness of the average man of Solomon's day and compare it with that of the average man of Zedekiah's day. Compare similarly the religious leaders of each epoch. In what respects was the nation which faced exile at an advantage over the nation which suffered disruption?

A True Title for the Age. What title seems more descriptive of the age as a whole than the one used in the book?

Its Supremely Distinctive Factor. What one influence predominated in shaping the development of the Hebrew people during the age? Would religious reform have prevented the decadence of the kingdom?

THE AGE OF MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL
PRODUCTIVITY

THE AGE OF MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL PRODUCTIVITY

From the Babylonian Exile to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra and Nehemiah, 586-400 B.C. (Ezra, Nehemiah, Lamentations and five prophetic books.)

(371) The glory of the Hebrew race was its leadership of the world in religious appreciation. It became the world's teacher of enduring religion, formulated in terms which have a universal appeal. The slightly less than two centuries following the destruction of Jerusalem was the period during which this formulation of eternal truth took place. It was the truly creative period of the national history. The exile seemed to the Hebrews in far-off Babylonia and Egypt a grievous punishment for the sins of their race. But it was far more than a retribution. God made it a wonderful opportunity. It marked four sweeping changes in Hebrew life. Through its experiences and necessary adjustments the Hebrew people became true Israelites, a people whose particular genius found expression in religious advancement. Cut off from national interests, even after they were permitted to found a community at Jerusalem, they turned their energies to matters of religion. While the dominant religious interests were those of organization and of literary coördination and codification, there were always, as in earlier days, great original souls, who dwelt on the religious and moral issues of the day and interpreted them in terms of the Divine character and purpose. The sublimest and most brilliant prophecy of any nation or any age found expression in the attempt to show to Israel that Jehovah's ways were nobly consistent, His purposes unchanging, and His goodness and mercy as enduring as the earth itself. Another great result of the exile was the elimination of idolatry. In the days of Ezra and Nehemiah the polytheism of the great empire to which the Jews were subject had ceased

to be attractive. A still greater result was the conversion of the Hebrews from a landowning, agricultural people with strong local affections into a cosmopolitan people with a genius for business and a willingness to travel and make a home anywhere. After the exile only a small fraction of the race ever resided in Judea. At this time also they came to be generally known as "Jews" (Ezra 4: 12; 6: 7), by which name they will henceforth be called.

(372) **The Chronology of the Age.** It was the habit of this age to give exact dates and many of them. The difficulties of chronology arise almost wholly from the meagerness of records. The Assyrians and Chaldeans were interested in knowing accurate dates and developed excellent systems of record. From them the Jewish people caught the habit and maintained it (Hag. 1: 1; 2: 20; Zech. 1: 1, 7), generally dating events in the proper year of the reigning sovereign.

(373) **The Historical Sources.** The book of Second Kings contributes only one or two details to the history of this period. No record of the exile proper exists. The book of Daniel cannot be used as a historical source for the reasons that the author, who lived some centuries later in the early Maccabean age, misunderstood the historical sources to which he had access, unwittingly made them contravene records which are indisputable, and used them for his own special purpose of stirring up his fellow-countrymen to a great loyalty to God. The result was a wonderful book, one of the most influential books ever written, but unadapted for historical reference purposes.

An important share of the incidental facts of history available for the period is derived from the prophetic writings. Three well-known prophets, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah, and one whom we know only by a name, which may not be a personal one, Malachi, make many historical allusions which are helpful. The unknown writer or writers of the later portions of the book of Isaiah are less directly interested in mundane affairs, but afford a few historical clues.

The inscriptions and records of the Chaldean and Persian empires are invaluable to the student of this history. Since they have become available many of the ideas regarding the Median empire and the capture of Babylon which were accepted by an earlier age without question have been corrected. Greek writers like Herodotus begin to be available but often require attestation from earlier records. All of these sources help the careful student to interpret the scanty Jewish records and to supplement them.

(374) **The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.** The best historical document available is the remainder of the great historical work carried through by the Chronicler or by a group of priestly writers (§ 229). One who compares the close of Second Chronicles (36: 22-23) with the beginning of the book of Ezra (1: 1-3a) will see that the two books were originally continuous. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were originally one work and must be used as such. They include quite varied materials, which tell the story of the return to Judah and of the rebuilding of the Temple and city. The narrative is not continuous in itself, and is manifestly a compilation by one or more who wrote long after the age of Nehemiah and had at their disposal authentic memoirs of Nehemiah and probably of Ezra, as well as other materials. The genealogy of Neh. 12: 11 extends to three generations after Nehemiah (Eliashib was his contemporary). Some of the references to Nehemiah and to Ezra make them figures of past history (Neh. 12: 26, 47; Ezra 7: 6, 10). These memoirs, excepting, probably, some extracts from the records of Nehemiah (Neh. 1-6; 13: 4-31), the compiler rewrote in his own fashion. The difference between his reproduction of the Nehemiah memoirs and those of Ezra need not suggest, as some choice scholars hold, that the Chronicler invented Ezra and his individual share in the establishment of Judaism (§ 432), holding that he is an imaginary figure representing the aims and spirit of the Judaism of that age; it may indicate his uncertainty regarding the exact order of events in Nehemiah's time. Students are

justified in differing quite a little as to the order of events from the permission of Cyrus to return to the rehabilitation of Jerusalem about a century later, although the facts are quite clear.

XIV

THE SEVENTY YEARS OF HOMELESSNESS. 586-516 B.C.
(Jeremiah 40-44; Ezekiel 25-48; Lamentations; Isaiah 13, 14, 40-55;
Haggai; Zechariah 1-8; II Kings 25: 22-30; Ezra 1-6 *passim*)

Chaldean Sovereigns

Nebuchadrezzar, 604-562
Amil-Marduk, 561-560
Nergal-shar-usur, 559-555
Labashi-Marduk, 556
Nabunai'd (Nabonidus), 556-538
Fall of Nineveh and end of the Chaldean empire, 538

The Judean Rulers

Zerubbabel, the prince } 538-516
Joshua, the high priest } or later

Persian Kings

Cyrus, 538-529
Cambyses, 529-522
Darius, 521-485

(375) The period of the exile was placed by Jeremiah at seventy years. (Jer. 29: 10.) This seems like a round number, not to be dealt with as an exact estimate. Curiously enough, however, the years which elapsed between the destruction of one Temple and the completion of another was exactly in accordance with his statement. It may also be said that in a true sense the exile was not over until the return to Judah was made permanent by the erection of a worshipping center. Until that was obtained the Jews were not really at home again. Nevertheless the estimate was probably a general one and was fulfilled by the half century of detention in Babylonia.

The period of the exile in Babylonia and Egypt was of very great importance to the Jewish leaders. They went into it disheartened, disillusioned, disinclined to do otherwise than drift for the time being. The destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple was a blow which dazed them by its suddenness and unexpectedness. Isaiah's declaration of Jerusalem's inviolableness had passed into

a dogma, which none of the counter-declarations of Jeremiah could affect. The catastrophe was a calamity to them beyond our powers of easy realization. But under the leadership of such men as Ezekiel and the prophets, priests and princes whom we cannot name, they recovered their hopefulness, discovered the advantages and opportunities of the larger world, and entered into these so fully that the Jews henceforth became a cosmopolitan people rather than a Judean people. They not only learned a new type of living and acquired a culture hitherto unfamiliar to the people generally, but the vigorous religious thinking of two centuries came to a climax in a supremely fine conception of religion and its universal meaning, a fresh idea of the value of religious organization, and a definition of religion in terms of missionary obligation. An important period in which Jerusalem came to be of importance as representing a Divine purpose rather than as an actual abode of the Jewish race. The greater and more important "Israel" became the Israel abroad rather than the portion of the race which made its home in Judea.

1. THE HEBREW PEOPLE

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GREAT CALAMITY.

(II Ki. 25:22-26; Jer. 40-44; Ezek. 25-32; Lamentations)

(376) This material combines to afford a striking picture of the fortunes and the feelings of the exiled Hebrews.

Ezekiel's Oracles Against Judah's Neighbor Nations. (Before 585 B.C.)

Against Ammon, Moab, Edom and Philistia for petty spitefulness. Ezekiel 25.

Against Tyre, whose capture by Nebuchadrezzar will be mourned by her rivals. 26.

Tyre, the gallant, costly, beautiful trireme of the seas, laden with the riches of the world, shall be a total wreck. 27.

Tyre had every opportunity: with Sidon she must suffer. 28: 1-24.

Egypt, the fallen cedar, the turbulent crocodile, will meet the fate of other great world empires. 29-32.

At last restored Israel will acknowledge Jehovah. 28: 25, 26.

The Last Experiences and Sermons of Jeremiah. (About 581 B.C.)

The reassembling of many fugitives near Mizpah. 40: 7-12.

The murder of Gedaliah the governor and others by Ishmael, the fanatical brigand. 40: 13 to 41: 10.

Johanan's rescue of Ishmael's captives. 41: 11-18.

Jeremiah's advice to those who thought of fleeing to Egypt: "Abide here fearlessly." 42.

Their flight to Egypt, accompanied by Jeremiah and Baruch. 43: 1-7.

His symbolic prediction at Tahpanhes of Nebuchadrezzar's certain conquest of Egypt. 43: 8-13.

His vain denunciation of the idolatrous worship of Ishtar by his countrymen in Egypt. 44.

The Lamentations. (After 586.)

An alphabetical acrostic poem: the desolation and misery of Jerusalem. 1.

An acrostic poem: Jehovah's anger with His people. 2.

An acrostic poem: The nation's complaint but assurance of God's compassion. 3.

An acrostic poem: The past and the present of Zion. 4.

The nation's appeal for Jehovah's compassionate regard. 5.

(377) Study the details given in Jer. 39: 4-10; 40: 1-6 and II Kings 25: 8-21 to determine just what Nebuchadrezzar did to the conquered people and city. Read the long historical section by Baruch in Jer. 40: 7 to 44: 30. It is remarkably well told, bringing out the promising character of Gedaliah's brief rule, the flight of the fugitives to Egypt and their experiences there. Note Jeremiah's advice against the flight (42: 10-22) and his vain attempts to make the people see the realities of the present and future. Read especially 44: 15-28, where he attacks their idolatrous tendencies, and confidently appeals to the future (44: 28b) to vindicate his judgment.

The passages from Ezekiel have no great historical value. They are bits of fine imaginative literature, notably the dirge over Tyre (27), the scornful exhibit of her commercial genius (28) and her fate, the fall of Egypt, the mighty cedar, and her welcome to the underworld (32: 17-32).

The poems found in Lamentations are curiously elaborate in form. Lam. 2 and 4 reflect with particular clearness and fine prophetic spirituality the horrors of the siege and capture of Jerusalem.

(378) **The Scattered People of Judah.** The first few years after the destruction of Jerusalem found Judah's population in three countries: Judea, Babylonia, and

Egypt. Dr. Smith's estimate of the Judean people at the end of the seventh century is not less than a quarter of a million. He thinks also that an outside estimate of every man, woman and child taken to Babylonia in the three deportations (Jer. 52:28-30) would stand at from sixty to seventy thousand. In Egypt had gathered many who had fled from Judea at one time and another. These were joined by the fugitives who abandoned Judea after the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 43:7). They settled in Tahpanhes, Migdol, Memphis and Pathros (upper Egypt) (Jer. 44:1). They must have been numbered by thousands. Tahpanhes, where Jeremiah and the fugitives from Judea remained, was a frontier town where Asiatics and Egyptians met on freest terms. The next king of Egypt, Amasis, changed this freedom, but it lasted for more than twenty years. Other parts of Egypt, moreover, were free to them. Comparatively recent discoveries of records of the next century show that on the island of Elephantine in the upper Nile (opposite the Assuan of today) were many Jewish residents, who lived a free and prosperous life. They built a temple to Jehovah there and sought to preserve their racial unity in every way. There must have been quite as many Jews in Egypt as in Babylonia. Even so, and notwithstanding the misfortunes of war, the largest group by far were still left in Palestine. The Babylonians, who had no intention of devastating the country, did not deem it necessary to import any colonists. Those who remained were peasantry, disorganized and depressed, an easy prey to their encroaching neighbors.

(379) **Gedaliah's Brief Four Years' Reign.** The Chaldeans gave to the people left in Judea their own ruler, Gedaliah, a high-minded, patient, loyal and brave grandson of Josiah's trusted adviser. No better appointment could have been made. He drew back to Judea many fugitives; he promoted the revival of agriculture; he mediatized happily between the Chaldeans and his own people. With Jeremiah at his elbow there seemed a bright prospect of building up a prosperous community.

But his generous friendliness cost him his life and the community its hopeful start. He was murdered before, but not long before, 581 B.C. (Jer. 52:30) by a jealous scion of the royal house of Judah, an unreasoning fanatic, with whom the king of Ammon conspired. The surrounding peoples did not wish for Judah's rehabilitation.

(380) **Jeremiah and the Fugitives.** While Gedaliah lived, Jeremiah must have enjoyed the confidence and reverence of the people and felt repaid for his loyalty to them (Jer. 40:6). At the crisis which resulted from the murder of the governor, the people turned to him for advice (42:1-3). He delayed ten days before making reply (42:7). This was unfortunate, since by that time the people were not in a mood to take his counsel, and their leaders had determined upon a policy of flight to Egypt. Jeremiah urged them to remain in Judea, promising that Nebuchadrezzar would not take vengeance, and declaring that going to Egypt would be virtual suicide (42:9-22). The leaders suspected that the message was one which Jeremiah and Baruch had contrived between them (43:2, 3) and refused to obey the message. They set out for Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch along with them (43:6, 7). They settled at first at Tahpanhes or Daphne, a frontier city built by Psamtik I, where many foreigners lived under the protection of the Pharaoh. Jeremiah showed them by one of his characteristic symbolic prophecies that their exchange of masters would profit them but little. He buried some large stones in the open-air platform of brickwork, which was near the palace, taking pains to be noticed by the fugitives, declaring that on these stones Nebuchadrezzar would place his royal throne and pass judgment upon Egypt (43:8-13). We know little more about the noble prophet. Tradition declares that the Jewish rabble, stung by his fierce invective, stoned him to death. Such a martyrdom would not have been an unfitting conclusion to his life of sacrifice. The occasion for it is suggested by Jer. 44, a denunciation, unparalleled for vigor and directness, of the idolatrous unfaithfulness of some of the fugitives.

(381) **The Prophet Jeremiah.** It is idle to compare Jeremiah even with Isaiah, his most distinguished predecessor. Each had a long ministry which covered a critical period in the national life and dealt with a very complicated state of affairs. Each was a statesman in his way; each witnessed the devastation of his country. Jeremiah faced a more hopeless situation than Isaiah. He had to reverse the declarations of Isaiah about Jerusalem and to declare her certain doom. He held a different view from Isaiah about exile, probably sharing in the view that a thoroughgoing cleaning up (II Kings 21: 13) was Jehovah's definite intention, after which the people would return, the exile being a Divine means of redemption.

Jeremiah deserves a high place in the estimate of the religious historian. Not only did he show remarkable bravery and independence, but he refused, as Jehovah's servant, to sanction as nationally right what he personally believed to be wrong. He was a poor diplomat, but a great soul. His lonely, harassed life threw him back onto God. Religion thus became an intimate personal experience, deepening and spiritualizing it. Humanly speaking, his life was a failure; but he pioneered personal religion and made the Great Unknown a possibility. G. A. Smith has pointed out the tragic fact that Jeremiah had to face the bitternesses of his life with no recompensing hope of a resurrection.

(382) **Ezekiel's Prophecies about Certain Nations.** During the period round about the fall of Jerusalem Ezekiel uttered the larger number of the predictions grouped between chapters 25 and 32. These are not outbursts of vindictiveness or expressions of national jealousy, nor mere predictions of a just retribution to come upon those who have inflicted injuries upon the people of Judah. They are rather the assertion of Jehovah's sovereignty over these peoples also and the certainty that He will deal with them and with His own people on principles of eternal justice. They claim the certain subjection of Egypt, the old crocodile (Ezek. 29: 3-5), to Nebuchadrez-

zar, Jehovah's agent. The stately cedar is doomed to be felled by skilful axemen (31: 10-14). The most interesting of this group of prophecies is the dirge over Tyre (27) wherein she is likened to a stately trireme, laden with the wealth of all nations, but foundering because of the storm from the east. Verses 11-25 make an extraordinarily interesting prose insertion, portraying the extensive commerce of that city of merchants.

(383) **The Five Lamentations.** Two at least, the second and fourth, and probably the first four of the five dirges in the book of Lamentations, are the product of an eyewitness of Jerusalem's fall. They are not, however, unstudied expressions of emotion, but carefully elaborated poems, exquisite but artistic. Each of the first four is an alphabetical acrostic, written in a peculiar rhythm.* They afford a vivid picture of the calamities attending the siege and sacking of the city. They are more likely to have been composed by a disciple of Jeremiah than by the prophet himself. The author, in any case, was an artist.

2. EZEKIEL'S WORK OF COMFORTING, HEARTENING AND CONSTRUCTION FOR THE BABYLONIAN EXILES. 586-570 B.C.

(Ezekiel 19, 33-48)

(384) These chapters tell a clear story of Ezekiel's remarkable work as a pastor among the discouraged exiles and as one with the power of constructing a future.

Ezekiel's Messages of Comfort and Hope to the Discouraged Exiles (After 586 B.C.)

The personal responsibility of the prophet for his people and of each Judean for himself. 33: 1-20.

Notwithstanding Jerusalem's fall, those left in the land, if they persist in sinning, will be overtaken by judgment. 33: 21-33.

A dirge: the sad fate of Judah's last three rulers. 19.

The neglectful rulers of the past will be replaced under Jehovah, the good guardian Shepherd, by a true Davidic ruler who will give them protection and peace. 34.

* See the illustrations quoted from *The Psalms Chronologically Arranged* by Fowler, *Lit. Ancient Israel*, 247, 248, and the full translations in G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. ii, 274-283 and in Kent, *StOT*, vol. v.

Israel's eventual repossession of her own land, cleansed and repopulated, will glorify Jehovah's name in the world. 35, 36.

The vision of the valley of dry bones: Jehovah is able to create the nation anew. 37: 1-14.

The vision of the two sticks: the future Israel shall be undivided. 37: 15-28.

When the hostile, heathen powers gather for a final, destructive attack on His loyal and happy people, they shall suddenly be destroyed by God Himself. 38, 39.

Ezekiel's Forecast of the Properly Reorganized Holy Land

(About 572 B.C.)

The new temple on Mt. Zion (exclusively) with its gateways, courts, sanctuary, adjuncts, buildings, and altar. 40-43.

The temple officials and life: Levites and priests, the prince, the festivals and the offerings. 44-46.

The life-giving stream flowing out of the heart of the temple, beautifying and redeeming the whole land. 47: 1-12.

The boundaries of this land and the allotments to people and leaders. 47: 13-48: 29.

The appropriate name of the reestablished city. 48: 30-35.

(385) Ezekiel seems frequently to have been reminded of the true character of his work (33: 7. Compare 3: 17). A modern equivalent would be "pastor." Chapter 19 is a carefully wrought poem, another "lamentation." The three visions of chapters 37-39 exhibit the prophet's dramatic power and his confidence in God. But the best expression of his thinking is found in chapters 40-48 — an astounding bit of creative sketching!

(386) **The People in Babylonia.** The Israelitish exiles in Babylonia were, so far as the evidence goes, not badly located. They were given all reasonable freedom, controlled their own social affairs, and maintained to a remarkable degree their racial integrity. They yielded to the opportunities of that "land of traffic and of merchants" (Ezek. 17: 4), and gradually exchanged agricultural for commercial habits. The stories regarding Daniel and his companions and the office occupied later on by Nehemiah give indication that some of them even rose to high office. They were greatly tempted to throw themselves into the life of Babylonia and forget their race and religion. Many of them felt that Jehovah had abandoned His land and probably His people. They found it hard to

get over the shock of the failure of hopes in which they had trusted. Under these circumstances Ezekiel and the loyal sons of Judah who supported him were of great importance. They comforted, cheered and inspired their people. They encouraged the habit of meeting on the Sabbath to read the prophetic and historical writings, a practice which soon developed the synagogue as an institution which grew rapidly into permanent significance.

(387) **Ezekiel's Messages of Comfort.** (33-39.) It is difficult to overestimate the services of Ezekiel at this crisis. In words that glow and stir he dealt with the people's disappointments and distresses. Chapters 33-39 report the substance of his appeals and exhortations in the years immediately following the fall of Jerusalem. The people were very despondent (37: 11b). They seemed to themselves to be nothing but dried bones. Ezekiel declared that out of a valley full of such bones Jehovah could create a great army of living men (37: 10-12), that Jehovah would restore them to Judah, give them a true leader (37: 24; 34: 23, 24) and eventually destroy the foes who sought to destroy them (38, 39). Such assurances put new life and hope into the exiles.

(388) **His Plan of the Restored Temple and State.** (40-48.) One of the boldest prophecies in the Old Testament is that implied by the Temple plan set forth in these chapters. When it was given out, the city and Temple were in ruins, the leaders were widely scattered, and the great controlling empire was at the height of its power. Yet the prophet gives the details of a Temple to be erected on the old site. For sublime confidence his act was only matched by Jeremiah's purchase of the fields at Anathoth (§ 363) just before Jerusalem's downfall. It was a challenge to despondency.

But these chapters embody more than an architect's dream. Ezekiel's plan for the Temple and land was really a scheme for promoting popular holiness. It was elaborated with minute care, embodied with much practical wisdom fresh plans for the standardizing of religious life, and exercised an immeasurable influence in shaping

the religious development of the Jewish people. It laid down exact details of ritual, it emancipated the ecclesiastical authorities from contact with the civil ruler and from his caprice, so often endured in preceding centuries, by removing him and his palace and his private cemetery (43: 9) at least four miles from the Temple mountain (45: 1-8); it carefully guarded the sacred courts from intrusion, even keeping the people and their ruler out of the main court where the Temple proper and the great altar stood. This provision of two courts was apparently an innovation. So long as the palace stood near the Temple there was no room for an outer court of the sort contemplated. As a matter of fact Ezekiel's idea was not carried out before Herod's time (§512).

It was clearly Ezekiel's purpose to reduce personal initiative in religion to a minimum. A Jew was to stand at a distance and watch, while the proper officials performed the symbolic rites for him. This was a long move from the methods described in I Sam. 2: 12-17; 9: 12-14, 22-24, or implied in Dt. 12:13, 14, 27. Probably Ezekiel and his friends saw so clearly the evil results of the old religious freedom that they hoped to crystallize into a very definite scheme of worship tendencies which had been developing ever since the building of the Temple. He permitted the priests of the former village sanctuaries, abolished at last by Josiah, to rank as Levites in the service of this Temple, but reserved the priesthood to the family of Zadok (44: 10-16).

Ezekiel's scheme, as outlined in these chapters, foreshadowed the stricter adjustments of the full Levitical law. He has properly been termed the father of Judaism. His was the master mind which guided the thinking of many earnest students of the religious problems of the race and gave an impulse toward the great and important transformation of the future days. His plan was not carried out when the second Temple was built, but the ideas underlying it prevailed.

(389) **Reign of Nebuchadrezzar.** The latest prophecy of Ezekiel was dated in 570 B.C., sixteen years after the

fall of Jerusalem (29: 17-21). The long siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar had come to a disappointing end in 573. Ezekiel declared that the king would recompense himself with Egypt. He accomplished this in 567, plundering the country, but not attempting to manage it. Whether Nebuchadrezzar was a really great organizer and campaigner is one of the problems of history. He had to do much fighting, and he held his vast empire together, but his heart of hearts was in Babylonia, its development, beautification, and protection. In great works of building, irrigation, and defense he took the utmost delight. He found Babylonia a land ravaged by war and, as he put it, abandoned by the gods. He left it fertile, beautiful, prosperous, with a well-supported worship and apparently impregnable against attack from without. But he chose to lavish most of his energy upon the capital city, ignoring the other great centers of population, a measure which proved to be costly to his successors. He died in 562 after a long and brilliant reign of forty-two years.

3. THE CLOSING YEARS OF CHALDEAN RULE AND THE RISE OF CYRUS. 562-545 B.C.

(II Kings 25: 27-30)

(390) Between the latest prediction of Ezekiel in 570 B.C. and the prophetic anticipations of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, which may be dated between 545 and 540 B.C., there is a quarter of a century unmarked by any specific event except the liberation of Jehoiachin by Amil-Marduk (Evil-Merodach), the son of Nebuchadrezzar, at his accession in 561 B.C. But these years were really full of activity.

(391) **The Liberation of Jehoiachin.** The hapless royal captive who had been in prison for thirty-six years may not have long enjoyed his freedom during the disturbed days that followed. In any event, it was probably not a severe imprisonment that he had to endure, certainly not a solitary one. Zerubbabel, his son, was, at the end of the exile, a young man of distinction and authority,

Western Asia in the Babylonian Period, 560 B. C.



Western Asia under Darius, 500 B. C.



The Empire of Alexander the Great, 323 B. C.



Western Asia after the Battle of Ipsus, 301 B. C.



a recognized leader of his people, the embodiment of their kingly hopes. He was a choice young prince.

(392) **The Literary Activity of the Exile.** It has been well said that the destruction of Jerusalem and the widespread dispersion of the exiles transformed them into a literary people. The habit of writing, concern for literary form, and the production of artistic literature were Babylonian national traits, which influenced the Jews no less than the sheer necessities of communication and the preservation of valued writings. There were an abundance of trained minds among the exiles who joyfully gave themselves up to the tasks incidental to the new needs of the nation. They were indefatigable in collecting, compiling and editing the earlier historical writings. At this period Deuteronomy, Judges, Samuel and Kings must have received their final touches. Quite probably Deuteronomy was united with JE (§ 310). After the exile they were all available in the form with which we are familiar. The group of historians who did this work belonged to the "Deuteronomic" school (§ 326). They put a clear-cut stamp upon the historical records they handled. The books of Kings are their chief monument. Their peculiar and recognizable style, modelled after that of Deuteronomy, while losing the direct, story-telling charm of the days of heroic adventure, makes a deep impression by its earnestness and conviction. These men had been trained in a stern school to think seriously and to interpret for religious profit. They altered interesting narratives into instructive religious history, as one notes with especial clearness in the books of Judges and of Kings (§§ 139.228).

At or before this time there was some revising and editing of the sermons of the nine prophets. No doubt floating fragments were attached to prophetic rolls in accordance with the best judgment of these devoted scholars. In case of such a curiously alternating group of predictions of doom and blessing as in Isaiah 28-33 and Micah 4-7 (§ 300) the insertion of the later passages may have been made at this time.

(393) **The Holiness Code.** Another exceedingly important literary task of this period was that of collecting and codifying groups of laws and ordinances relating to Temple worship. These, where needful, were adapted to the future to which Ezekiel had encouraged all brave and godly men to look forward. Ezekiel's own little code (40-48) was an inspiration to such enterprise. It is generally, however, held by scholars that the fine group of laws found in Leviticus 17-26, commonly known as the Holiness Code, because of its emphasis upon ceremonial and moral holiness and its frequent reference to the holiness of Jehovah, antedated Ezekiel slightly. It has three central ideas: holiness, Jehovah the embodiment of true holiness and the sinful land. The group of earnest reformers who prepared it were at work in the last days of the Judean kingdom, very likely at Babylon after 597 B.C. Evidently different circles of priests and prophets were working independently along similar lines, attempting to "fuse prophetic and priestly ideas in a passion of obedience to Jehovah's revealed will." Lofthouse declares that the impressive conclusion of H (Leviticus 26: 3-45), reveals clearly the influence of Jeremiah and of Ezekiel, particularly in its inclusion of the "four motives of humiliation, confession, the covenant and the land."

The Holiness Code. Leviticus 17-26

Its distinctive plea. 19: 2.

General restrictions on sacrifices. 17.

Sexual and social regulations. 18-20.

Regulations pertaining to the priests in their service. 21, 22.

The sacred calendar. 23, 25.

Additional ordinances. 24.

Concluding challenge to obedience. 26.

(394) **The Successors of Nebuchadrezzar.** When the great Nebuchadrezzar died, his dynasty quickly passed. He was succeeded by his son, Amil-Marduk,* "servant of Marduk," whose reign lasted but two years and ended tragically. He was slain by his brother-in-law, Nergal-sharezer,† who succeeded him. This king may have been the official mentioned in Jer. 39: 3, 13, who directed the

*The "Evil-Merodach" of II Kings 25: 27.

†In Assyrian "Nergal-shar-usur"; sometimes known as Neriglissor.

final disposition of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. If so his brief but vigorous reign of four years (559-556 B.C.) may have ended so quickly because of his age. He left the throne to his young son, Labashi-Marduk, who reigned but nine months, when he fell a victim to a conspiracy of nobles. They placed on the throne, as the founder of the third Chaldean dynasty, Nabuna'id, who ruled until the downfall of the empire (556-539), a period of seventeen years. He had two marked characteristics, piety of the Babylonian sort and antiquarian zeal. He loved above all other pursuits to explore ancient ruins, determine their date, renew temples and honor the gods. These were not the traits most needed in its official head by his empire at this time. Probably he left the actual management of the kingdom very largely to his son, Belshazzar, who is not unnaturally called "the king" in Daniel 5.

(395) **The Rise of Cyrus.** Under the policy of friendship and tolerance established by Cyaxares the Mede and Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadrezzar, the Medes gained control of the northern part of Ashurbanipal's empire as far west as the river Halys (§ 332). Alyattes III, the king of Lydia, forced Cyaxares to stop at that point in 585 B.C. Thereafter the three nations — Babylonia, Media, and Lydia — controlled between them all the western half of habitable Asia.* In 560 Alyattes was succeeded by Croesus and in 584 Cyaxares was succeeded by Astyages, who was possibly not his son but a Scythian. But the real inheritor of these three empires was destined to be a fourth man, Cyrus the Persian. He was born about 590 B.C. and first emerges into history as king of the little state of Anshan in southern Elam. For a reason which is obscure, perhaps because he represented the true Iranians against a usurper, a war arose between Cyrus and Astyages. Before the actual battle began the troops of the latter rebelled and went over to Cyrus, taking their king along as a prisoner. Thus without a blow Cyrus became the ruler of the Median empire in

* For this division of western Asia see the map facing page 238. Compare the map facing page 146.

549 B.C. Within two years he had crossed the Tigris and conquered Mesopotamia. In the following year he continued westward to meet the approach of Croesus, who wished to crush him. In a quick campaign he defeated Croesus, captured Sardis, which became the permanent center of Persian power in the west, and ultimately, through his generals, conquered the Greek cities and colonies of Asia Minor. Meanwhile he soon made himself recognized head of all the Iranian peoples. In three years he had made his empire range from the Indus to the Aegean. The reputation for generosity and clemency to the conquered which he won in these campaigns assisted his further successes.

4. PROPHETICAL FORESHADOWINGS OF BABYLON'S FATE AND OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR ISRAEL AND FOR THE WORLD. BETWEEN 550 AND 538 B.C.

(Isaiah 13, 14; 21:1-10; Jeremiah 50, 51; Isaiah 40-55)

(396) These prophetic passages seem to bear upon the approaching downfall of Babylon.

Predictions of Babylon's Approaching Fall. (After 545 B.C.)

The well-merited, thoroughgoing overthrow of glorious Babylon by the Medes: a triumphal ode. Isaiah 13: 1-14: 23.

Babylon, the cruel tyrant, is now about to receive her just deserts. Jer. 50: 1-51: 58.

The vision of the army successfully invading Babylon — a message for oppressed Judah. Isaiah 21: 1-10.

Assurances to the Exiled Community that the Omnipotent Jehovah is about to Deliver His People. (About 540 B.C.)

Israel has paid in full for her sins. Let the glad tidings go forth that Jehovah is ready to act. Isaiah 40: 1-11.

The all-powerful, all-knowing, incomparable, unwearying Jehovah is our God. 40: 12-31.

His sovereignty is shown by His shaping of history. 41.

Jehovah chose and equipped Israel to be His Servant, appointed to establish justice and to reveal the truth. 42: 1-9.

Let the whole world celebrate Jehovah's redemptive activity. 42: 10-17.

Israel's plight a well-deserved discipline from which He is now ready and able to deliver her. 42: 18-43: 7.

Israel's splendid task is to bear witness to His redemptive goodness. 43: 8-13.

The home-gathering of Israel due, not to her merits, but to His grace. 43: 14-28.

It will cause non-Israelites to enrol themselves among His people. 44: 1-5.

In view of Jehovah's uniqueness how foolish idolatry seems! 44: 6-23.

Jehovah, God of creation and prophecy, will grant victory and riches to His anointed, thus giving salvation to the world. 44: 24-45: 25.

Chaldea's gods are worn out; Jehovah never tires. He is incomparable; let evil doers beware! 46.

Babylon, the haughty, luxurious mistress of kingdoms, in spite of her magic and her wise men, is about to be shamefully overthrown. 47.

The crowning proof of Jehovah's greatness and goodness is about to take place; notwithstanding Israel's obstinate sinfulness, the Eternal is about to redeem her. 48.

The Great Glory and the Wonderful Task to be Zion's Through Her Sacrifice and Suffering (Isaiah 49-55). (About 538 B.C.)

The great missionary task for which Jehovah has prepared the Servant. 49: 1-6.

Abhorred Israel shall be honored; her exiles shall return. 49: 7-13.

Zion shall speedily be repopulated and rebuilt. 49: 14-21.

At the powerful word of Jehovah the nations shall pay homage to Israel. 49: 22-26.

The vigilant, docile Servant endures his bitter experiences, relying on Jehovah; ye do evil still. 50.

Let Jehovah's true-hearted followers take courage. He is behind them. 51: 1-16.

O humiliated Jerusalem, prepare to welcome Him joyfully when He returns to Zion. 51: 17-52: 12.

The Servant, whose unparalleled and undeserved sufferings open the way for the redemption and forgiveness of the heathen world, shall be gloriously exalted. 52: 13-53: 12.

Zion, now desolate, shall be populous, radiantly beautiful, prosperous and secure. 54.

Let every one be eager to share in the covenant blessings which Jehovah has in store; the fulfilment of His plans is at hand. 55.

(397) Read Isaiah 13:2-14:23, noting the indications that it must refer to the Babylonia of 540 or so, not to the Assyrian oppressor of Isaiah's day. Similarly read Jer. 50: 1 to 51: 58 and Isaiah 21: 1-10. None of these passages have any connection with the situation of Isaiah's day. Note the rather unusual figures applied to Israel (Jer. 50: 17; 51: 34). Put together the descriptions of Babylon (50: 12, 13, 23, 35-38; 51: 7, 13, 21-23, 25, 30-32, 33, etc.). Gather up what is said about Jehovah in Isaiah 40-48. What was to be the significance of Babylon's fall to the Jews? Put together the declarations regarding Israel as Jehovah's servant. What is said about Jehovah's purpose in restoring Israel?

(398) **Announcements of Babylon's Fall.** It is natural to date the vigorous doom prophecies of Isaiah 13, 14, 21, and Jeremiah 50, 51, between 548 and 540 B.C. They mention quite specifically the destruction of Babylon by the Medes. The lyrical splendor of many passages in these prophecies is remarkable, as well as their definite statements. The writers dwell on the details of warfare; yet the fate of Babylon is viewed as the natural conclusion of the four centuries of historic tyranny, when one lion after another made a meal of the hunted sheep, Israel (Jer. 50:17). The greatness of the catastrophe is what the writers emphasize. A spirit of bitterness and revenge is dominant. The absolute ruin of Babylonia (Isaiah 14:22, 23), however, stands over against the restoration of the Jewish nation. (14:1, 2.)

(399) **Isaiah 40 to 66.** With the last decade of the Babylonian exile, we reach the period when the predictions contained in these twenty-seven chapters of the book of Isaiah begin to find their historical fulfilment. To the Jewish people, living in this age or later, these words were profoundly significant. To those living at any earlier time they would have been destitute of force. These chapters fall into three fairly recognizable sections, 40-48, 49-55 and 56-66. The first section emphasizes the thought that the omnipotent Jehovah is ready to redeem His promises to Israel; the second describes the Servant of Jehovah and the future glory of Zion; the third deals with the character which must prevail in the Judea that Jehovah will bless.

The proper dating of these chapters is a perplexing question. It is quite generally agreed that chapters 56-66 find their natural setting in the decades between the building of the second Temple and the work of Nehemiah and Ezra and probably not long before Nehemiah appeared. Malachi represents similar conditions and, probably, about the same date. Regarding the proper background of chapters 40-55 scholarly opinion is divided. Some hold that these chapters betray a Palestinian background, that the specific references to Cyrus (44:28; 45:1)

and to Babylon and the Chaldeans (48: 14, 20) are evident insertions, that other general references to an invader (41: 25; 45: 13; 46: 11) may be better explained as referring to Israel, and that the inspiring appeals and illustrations follow appropriately and in culminating fashion after such prophecies as Zechariah 2 and 8 (§ 415).^{*} Other students assert quite as positively that the background of these chapters is Babylonia, the doomed empire (47: 5-7) and her gods (46: 1), that Judea (Zion or Jerusalem) lies waste and needs rebuilding (44: 28; 49: 14-21; 51: 19; 52: 7-12; 54) and that Cyrus is almost certainly referred to in such passages as 41: 25; 45: 1, 13; 46: 11, even supposing that the words "to Cyrus" in 45: 1 are a gloss. It is not supremely important to decide one way or the other. In view, however, of the sweepingly enthusiastic conviction given such constant expression, it is still fairly probable that the last decade of the exile accounts most satisfactorily for the prophetic conviction that Jehovah's plans are in process of speedy execution.

(400) **Israel's Jehovah and His Long-Cherished Purpose.** (Isaiah 40-48.) With these wonderful chapters we begin to realize the ripened fruitage of the thinking of the prophets. They are unsurpassed in sublimity, impressiveness or spirituality. The Jehovah of these chapters is the omnipotent sovereign of the world, but also the tender and gracious guardian of His people Israel, who now is ready to execute His long-cherished plan for the world through His servant Israel. He, the ruler

^{*}The most recent student of these remarkable chapters is Professor Torrey of Yale, whose volume "The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation" (*Scribner's*, 1928) is a marvel of exact scholarship and of sympathetic religious insight. He not only places Isaiah 34, 35 and 56-66 in the fifth century (compare § 429), but likewise 40-55. He offers striking evidences of the unity of these twenty-nine chapters, regarding them as the output of a great religious idealist in Palestine, who believed that his people, Israel, had been chosen of God to save the world and who set forth as the outcome of their religious experience a timeless spiritual religion for all mankind.

Since the method adopted in this volume enables the student eventually to judge for himself whether Isaiah 40-55 is a poem of the exile or of a century later, the adjustments of the first edition are allowed to stand. The references quoted in Appendix II cover each interpretation completely.

of the universe, exhibiting His glory in nature and in history alike, is preparing to redeem His people. His agent will be a conquering hero from the north, who will execute His judgment against Babylon. Israel's redemption will be the greatest event in her history. It is sure because the power of Jehovah is behind it, the might of the incomparable Jehovah, in comparison with whom the idols of Babylon are not to be mentioned, those idols which can be made to order, and have to be carried around. Jehovah is bringing this redemption to pass in order that Israel, now so apathetic, so blinded by her sorrows, may be impelled to proclaim His character and establish His worship throughout the whole inhabited world.

These chapters are full of wonderful passages and beautiful conceptions. There are a few passages (48: 1*b*, 4, 5*b*, 8*b*) which represent Israel as obstinate, insincere, treacherous, idolatrous. These charges seem surprising. It is possible that they are additions of a later period. If this is true, they strengthen the argument that the original prophecy belonged to the close of the exile.

(401) **Israel, the Servant of Jehovah.** In these chapters the crowning theme of Old Testament revelation is adequately developed, the sufferings and destiny of the Servant of Jehovah. There are four passages relating to the Servant, 42: 1-7; 49: 1-6; 50: 4-9, and 52: 13 to 53: 12. These songs, for such they are, unfold a gradually broadening conception of the idea. The first describes his mission and the unobtrusive and persistent way in which he will achieve it. In the second (49: 1-6) the Servant, with an active sense of his Divine call, equipment and protection, sees through his temporary failure to his ultimately successful task. The third (50: 4-9) elaborates the sorrow and indignity which he has had to endure (Ps. 129: 3), but sets over against it his invincible faith in God and assurance of the final triumph of His cause. The climax of the conception is reached with the fourth song (52: 13 to 53: 12), which embodies in one complete and coherent picture the character, suffer-

ings and destiny of the Servant. Reverent homage will eventually be paid to him (52: 13-15). His life will, however, be a martyrdom. Stripped of health, possessions and reputation, the victim of disease, injustice and derision, misunderstanding will follow him to a dishonored grave. Yet his sufferings he will endure obediently and without complaint, that many may be made righteous. This is Jehovah's doing, in order that the wicked in heart may be conscience-smitten and finally won to God, accepting Jehovah's salvation. Then shall great exaltation and glory be given to His Servant.

This interpretation of suffering is profound. The average Jew believed that suffering as a rule was an indication of sin. Here the suffering of one who was innocent is explained as redemptive in purpose, accepted by the Servant as imposed by Jehovah for the sake of others. Such suffering, when recognized as undeserved and voluntary, is an invincible force for turning the wicked from a defiant attitude to one of penitence.

It seems quite clear that the great prophet had in mind as the Servant, not any individual of his race, like Jeremiah or Zerubbabel, as some have believed, but Israel. The nation is so termed, explicitly, in chapters 40-48 (41: 8; 44: 1, 21; 45: 4). In the Servant poems, however, Israel is *ideally*, messianically conceived. They set forth a "splendidly original interpretation of her sufferings and destiny." The nation, as a matter of fact, never did fulfil this program. It found its only satisfying interpretation and real fulfilment in the sacrificial life and death of our Lord. Prophecy could not create a greater ideal; One alone could give it the significance of life.

(402) **Israel's High Destiny and her Future Glory.** The remaining sections of Isaiah, 49-55, to which it is quite possible that 60-62 should be added, center attention upon Israel herself and upon Zion, the holy city. With language of great beauty, the prophet describes the wonderful work before the nation, and the glory into which she will soon be introduced. It seems too much

for the disappointed people to credit (49:14), but the prophet assures them of Jehovah's tender love, which never forgets (49:15, 16). Jerusalem will be astonished at the number of her children (49:21). She will be beautiful, joyous, and absolutely safe (54). Like little children, the people will be tenderly taken home (49:22), because Jehovah is again ready to show His goodness and because His power is adequate (54:8) to every need. The only condition is responsiveness (55). The repentant people are to enter at once upon their glorious task of witnessing for Jehovah (55:4).

(403) **The Culmination of Prophetic Thinking.** Nothing in the Old Testament surpasses the breadth, the insight and forcefulness of chapters 40-55 of the book of Isaiah. Its nine great ideas stand out as comprehensive and final statements of the conceptions whose growth we have been following: (1) the omnipotent Jehovah, ruler of the physical and moral universe, guardian of the affairs of men, directing all history; (2) His great world-plan which had been slowly shaping human affairs in the past and had now come to a time of manifestation; (3) His free use of world rulers as His tools to execute His will; (4) His gracious love for Israel, very tender and persistent, rejoicing over the opportunity to offer full forgiveness to His erring people, and to take them into partnership again; (5) His eternal purpose for Israel that she should do a great, missionary service; (6) His significant treatment of godly Israel, the "remnant," whereby they were to become fitted to evangelize the world; (7) the great destiny He had in store for the true Israel; (8) the speedy return to Judah of the people to take up their great task, and (9) the great and impressive glory that the future had in store for Israel, amazing the whole world. In these chapters we have clearly developed the philosophy of Israel's history. To a reverent mind the experiences, good and bad, trifling and tremendous, found a satisfying explanation. Israel had been chosen and trained by Jehovah in order that the whole world might eventually fall in worshipful devotion at His feet.

How the unique personality of this greatest of Hebrew prophets could remain unknown is another of the puzzles of sacred history. We have to call him "Second Isaiah." His writings interpreted so clearly and nobly the ideals of the Isaiah of 700 B.C. that somehow they came to be bound into one with those of that great prophetic leader. Yet nothing is more probable than that the two were distinct personalities. Humanly speaking the Isaiah of the eighth century could no more have understood and spoken intelligently to the Jews of the exile than George Whitefield of 1740 A.D., the famous evangelist, could have prepared a suitable message for the people of our modern era.

5. THE CAPTURE OF BABYLON, INAUGURATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AND RESTORATION OF THE ALTAR SERVICE AT JERUSALEM. 539-537 B.C.

(Daniel 5; Ezra 1; 2:70-4:5, 24; 5:13-15; 6:3-5)

The friendly proclamation of Cyrus. Ezra 1:1-4.

Freewill offerings in aid of the return to Judah. 1:5-11.

The muster roll of those who (eventually) migrated. 2:1-69.

The speedy building of the altar at Jerusalem. 2:70 to 3:7.

The public laying of the cornerstone of the second temple. 3:8-13.

The exclusion of the "people of the land" from the task of building and their reaction. 4:1-5, 24.

Later references to these events. 5:13-15; 6:3-5.

(404) The actual capture of Babylon is assumed both by Ezra 1:1 and Daniel 5:30. For reliable information regarding the catastrophe and the events which led up to it, there are available the inscriptions of Nabuna'id and Cyrus. The book of Ezra describes what happened after the surrender of the city and empire.

Note that Daniel 5:1 calls Belshazzar the king, whereas Nabuna'id (§ 394) was the real sovereign, whom Cyrus, the Persian, supplanted (Ezra 1:1). Notice the three-fold permission reported in the proclamation of Cyrus to the Jews in Babylonia (1:3, 4) and what was actually taken back by those who availed themselves of his permission (1:6-11; 5:13-15). The variety of people among those who volunteered to make the journey (1:5, 6, 8;

3:2) is interesting. When the returning exiles reached Jerusalem, what was their first procedure (3:2, 3) and its significance? Study what is recorded concerning the rebuilding of the Temple — general preparations, the laying of the cornerstone, the general joy, the refusal of the newcomers to permit others to share in the work and the consequences (3:8 to 4:5).

(405) The Closing Years of the Chaldean Empire.

It seems incredible that Nabuna'id, the last king of Babylonia, should have shown so little interest in the affairs of his empire, while Cyrus was a possible foe. Perhaps he regarded Babylon as impregnable and preferred to leave affairs of state to his vigorous son, Belshazzar. He neither built new fortifications nor developed armies of defense. He ignored his part in the great feast of the new year, the one annual, solemn, official duty of the sovereign. He spent his time between 547 and 539 B.C. in his favorite antiquarian researches. During these same years Cyrus made no real attempt to attack the Chaldean empire, but contented himself, in the main, with completing the conquest of Asia Minor. In 539 B.C., however, Cyrus advanced for the conquest of Babylonia. This movement roused Nabuna'id, who not only held the New Year's festival with appropriate stateliness, but proceeded to bring the important deities of his provincial cities to Babylon, that he might have an ample force of protectors! It was a procedure to arouse the sarcasm of a prophet of Jehovah (Isaiah 46:1-11) and caused the bitter resentment of the cities whose gods had been taken away. These divinities did not prevent Cyrus from advancing, winning several skirmishes and one battle. Sippar was taken without a blow and, two days later, the van of the army of Cyrus entered Babylon, whose gates, probably through treachery, were opened to admit it. Nabuna'id was captured, and the city welcomed Cyrus. Thus closed the Semitic dominance, which in one form or another had widely influenced the western Asiatic world since the days of Hammurabi (§ 23), for nearly two millennia. With the fall of the imperial city, the empire

passed without contention under the rule of Cyrus. He dignified it by recognizing its independent status as a coördinate kingdom and by having his son, Cambyzes, consecrated as his heir by the priests of Marduk. Thus the ruling force in Syria and Palestine became Aryan rather than Semitic for the next millennium.

(406) **The Policy of the New Regime.** Cyrus had wonderful skill in the management of peoples. Xenophon declared that he could rule a world as easily as any other king could manage his particular realm. He accomplished this by the magic of undeniable power used in friendly fashion. He set himself to assure a conquered foe of his own desire to convert him into an ally. In particular he was accustomed to treat the religion of such a people with considerateness. Consequently, Cyrus had few or no rebellions. His great empire was full of contented peoples, who willingly lived their lives submissive to his firm but just authority, which contrasted so keenly with the barbaric use of power by his predecessors.

This quality of Cyrus was manifested at once after the conquest of Babylonia. He gave prompt permission to the captive peoples found there to return to their homes. As far as possible, he sent back their national deities, which had been transported to Babylonia by earlier conquerors. The decree he made concerning the Jewish temple is given in part in the Aramaic document quoted in Ezra 6: 1-5. Other details are mentioned in Ezra 1 where the words imply a religious devotedness of Cyrus to Jehovah which seems strange. Apparently Cyrus gave specific permission also to the Jews in Babylonia to return to Judea and to rebuild their national sanctuary, giving orders at the same time that they should be assisted and that the Temple vessels at Babylon should be restored. Cyrus appointed Sheshbazzar, an imperial officer (Ezra 5: 14-16), to be in charge of the movement to Judea. It is not easy, in view of the few details given, to be absolutely certain regarding the exact facts. Ezra 2 states that about forty thousand Jews responded to the invitation of Cyrus. But the list given there is exactly

repeated in Neh. 7:5-73, where it seems to be a census of the community a century later. So far as one may judge from the events which took place, there was a relatively small response in 537 B.C. Those who did go had choice leadership, Joshua, the lineal heir of the priestly line of Zadok, and Zerubbabel, a descendant of the royal family of Judah. Their families, retainers, friends and a small company of very loyal Jews, priests, Levites and people made up the caravan. Perhaps these were but the vanguard of the movement which was expected to follow. Quite as probably the freedom, attractiveness, opportunities and attachments of Babylonia tied the great mass of Jews to their homes there. Moreover, it was not a part of God's purpose to execute the splendid hopes of Isaiah 40-55 in the way anticipated by that great evangelist. The Israel scattered over the wide world was to become a leavening influence and a teaching agency of far greater practical value than the Israel in Judea. Through Israel abroad the Divine plan was to be set going. At first, however, the limited response to the sudden opportunity to return and build up the waste places of Judea may have seemed disheartening to the patriotic souls who adventured themselves under Zerubbabel.

(407) **The Restoration of the Altar Service on the Temple Mountain.** 536 B.C. We know from Jer. 41:5 that occasional attempts had been made to offer sacrifices on the sacred spot where the Temple had stood, but in all probability these were sporadic. Ezekiel (33:24, 25) accuses those living in Judea during the exile of being idolatrous. But the pilgrims from Babylonia were eager to renew a regular form of public worship. To them it was the great immediate task before them. They repaired the altar of burnt offering and resumed the regular morning and evening oblations. They observed the feast of Tabernacles and other feasts and established a regular system of worship (Ezra 3:5, 6; Haggai 2:10-16; Zech. 3:7:2, 3. *Per contra*, see Neh. 8:17).

(408) **The Laying of the Temple Foundations.** There

is a marked difference of opinion among scholars concerning this event. The compiler of the book of Ezra implies (3:7) that the newly returned exiles engaged masons and carpenters for building the Temple, and Phoenicians to bring down to them the timber they required. He also is authority for the statement that in the second year (536 B.C.) the foundation stone of the Temple was laid with due ceremony, and to the mingled joy and grief of the people, as they saw the realization of their hopes, or thought of the past (3:10-13). He further states that the "adversaries," by whom he seems to mean Samaritans, demanded a share in the proceedings. When this was rather curtly refused by the leaders, Joshua and Zerubbabel, the "people of the land" blocked the building of the Temple, perhaps by preventing the importation of the needed timber, for sixteen years (4:1-5, 24). Ezra 4:6ff. deals with similar opposition in later reigns. It has nothing to do with the episode in the days of Cyrus.

There are many good authorities who think that the contemporary statements of Haggai and Zechariah contradict these statements of the Chronicler. No conclusive arguments can be formulated in the vagueness and the scantiness of the data. But it does not seem unreasonable to follow the general judgment of the Chronicler, even though his work was done 250 years later. The people who could be appealed to for a work of reform were not the humble peasantry, left scornfully on their farms by Nebuchadrezzar, and characterized by Ezekiel as half heathenish in their religious life. The work of reconstruction must have needed a small community at least of those whose ideals were fine and whose plans were definite.

6. THE APPEALS OF THE PROPHETS, HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH, TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN TO BUILD THE TEMPLE. 520-516 B.C.

(Ezra 5:1, 2; Haggai; Zechariah 1-8)

(409) These passages show how these two prophets, seizing an opportunity, urged their countrymen to build

the second Temple, and encouraged them to make it all that it ought to be.

Appeals to Build the Significant Temple

September 1, 520 B.C., by Haggai: "Reflect on the explanation of your disappointed hopes; then arise and build." Haggai 1: 1-11.

September 24, by Haggai: "Remember that Jehovah is with you in this enterprise." Haggai 1: 12-15.

October 21, by Haggai: "To this temple, so unpretentious and unattractive in the eyes of some of you, will flow the riches of all nations, so that it will be very glorious." Haggai 2: 1-9.

November, by Zechariah: "Be not like your stubborn fathers. They did evil and were punished." Zechariah 1: 1-6.

December 24, by Haggai: "The priests declare that uncleanness is more infectious than holiness. Rebuild the temple, that with increased holiness may come fresh prosperity." Haggai 2: 10-19.

December 24, by Haggai: "O Zerubbabel, Persia will be overthrown. In that day you shall be Jehovah's viceregent." Haggai 2: 20-23.

Zechariah's Visions Concerning the Community

(Beginning February 519 B.C.)

The mounted messengers who report that the world is at peace. "This does not mean a deathblow to all hope. Jehovah loves Zion dearly. He will keep all His promises." Zechariah 1: 7-17.

The four horns representing world powers. "A blacksmith stands ready to crush each one." 1: 18-21.

The surveyor with the measuring line. "Why survey Jerusalem? Jehovah will defend the city which will overspread any walls." 2: 1-5.

The high priest, Joshua, confirmed in his priesthood, purified and honored. "Jehovah confirms your authority, O Joshua, as an earnest of our expectation of the Branch. (Compare Isaiah 11: 1; Jeremiah 23: 5; 33: 15.) 3: 1-11.

The golden seven-branched candelabrum flanked by the two guardian olive trees. "Jehovah is on the watch through His representatives. Scoffers will rejoice when Zerubbabel sets the capstone of the Temple." 4: 1-5, 6a, 10b-14, 6b-10a.

The flying roll of parchment, searching out evil-doers. "Jehovah's curse shall be efficient against thieves and perjurers." 5: 1-4.

The woman in the large jar. "She is Madame Wickedness, to be carried off to Chaldea, where she belongs." 5: 5-11.

The four war chariots of Jehovah. "Divine justice will be satisfied by a judgment upon the north country." 6: 1-8.

Zechariah's Later Prophetic Utterances. (About 519-517 B.C.)

The golden crown for Zerubbabel. "Make a crown from the golden gift from Babylon, place it on the head of Zerubbabel, the Branch, who will build the Temple and rule with Joshua as his coadjutor."* 6: 9-15.

The reply to the deputation from Bethel which inquired about the

* For the necessary readjustment of verses 11-13, consult a good commentary.

necessity of maintaining the fasts in memory of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple (December 4, 518 B.C.).

"Did you fast in order to express repentance? Your own experience and the teaching of the prophets have taught that what Jehovah really desires are deeds of brotherliness, justice and mercy." 7: 1-14.

Ten predictions regarding the Jerusalem-to-be. (1) Dearly loved by Jehovah (vs. 1, 2); (2) A faithful city (v. 3); (3) A community of safe, happy homes (vs. 4, 5); (4) An achievement wholly possible for Jehovah (v. 6); (5) A city to whose security Jehovah will bring back the exiles (vs. 7, 8); (6) A community very prosperous (vs. 9-13); (7) A righteously acting community (vs. 14-17); (8) Which turns fasts into holidays (vs. 18, 19); (9) Attracting peoples who will visit Jerusalem to gain a blessing (vs. 20-22); (10) Peoples of various tongues will desire to become Jews and followers of Jehovah (v. 23). 8.

(410) **The Sixteen Years' Interval.** After a brilliant reign of nine years over his vast empire, Cyrus died in 529 B.C., leaving it to his son, Cambyses. The new king inherited his father's love of conquest, but lacked his statesmanlike qualities. He added Egypt to his realm in 525, just after the death of the great Amasis, but needlessly and wantonly maddened the conquered people, who rejoiced over the misfortunes which attended his later Ethiopian ventures. Returning homeward in 522, Cambyses was met by the news that Bardiya, his younger brother, was seated on the throne of Persia. In a fit of drunken rage, he took his own life. That brother he had murdered, and the occupant of the throne was really a pretender. After some months, a group of noble conspirators, who became convinced that their sovereign was an impostor, broke into the royal palace, slew the king, and elected one of their own number, Darius, as sovereign.

(411) **Darius Chosen King.** Darius married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. Nevertheless, he was not really a rightful heir, and the beginning of his reign was signalized by revolts on every side. Pretenders were the fashion. Darius had to reconquer Susiana, Babylon, Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Dacia. It took nineteen hard-fought, although victorious, battles against nine pretenders, before his authority was fully established in the spring of 519 B.C. For some time, the integrity of the empire was much in question.

(412) **The Policy of Darius.** King Darius,* who directed the destinies of Asia for thirty-six years (521-485 B.C.) was a stern but just ruler, very ambitious but not vengeful. He organized the Persian empire on new principles. Instead of permitting each subject state to manage itself under its own dynasty, he preferred the policy of having a royal appointee as governor. His vast realm was divided into districts with satraps in responsible charge. Thus the vast realm was kept in order and responsive to one single will.

(413) **The Appeal of the Prophet Haggai to the Judeans to Build the Temple.** It is not unlikely that the political upheavals which attended the beginning of the reign of Darius aroused the prophets of Judah to a sense of sudden opportunity and possible freedom. There seemed little hope that even Darius could unify and control the vast dominion to which he aspired. The "shaking of the nations" (Haggai 2: 7, 21; Zech. 2:9) opened the way for the realization of Judah's hopes. The immediate task for Judah to undertake was to rebuild the Temple and deserve divine favor. The great stones were doubtless right at hand, and many of them in place. The upper walls, the roof and porch, and the interior fittings needed to be supplied. With a summons like a trumpet-call, Haggai appealed to the people in September, 520, urging them to "arise and build." They responded with a will, whereupon he gave a brief, encouraging word (1:13). Some seven weeks later, when the visible results seemed all too pitiful, especially to some of the older people who dwelt fondly on the splendor of the former Temple, Haggai came forward with another encouraging word, "Are you belittling this structure? The whole world will contribute toward making it more glorious than the former Temple." (2: 1-9.) Two months later, by means of replies drawn cleverly from the priests on two points of ceremonial observance, Haggai taught the people that so long as the Temple remained unbuilt their worldliness rendered them unholy and their offerings unacceptable.

* For the vast extent of his empire see the map facing page 250.

(2: 10-19.) On the same day he reiterated the prediction of the overthrow of world powers and of the security and distinction assured to Zerubbabel. (2: 20-23.) Within four months six fervid appeals were made to the people, whose distresses and disappointments may have made them cynical and selfish. It was a veritable bombardment.

Evidently Haggai believed that the disturbances among the nations would spread and would, perhaps, issue in an overthrow of the heathen powers. He thought of the Temple as the religious center of the world, peoples pouring their gifts into it, and making it more glorious than Solomon's Temple. He expected that through Zerubbabel would be fulfilled the patriotic hopes of Israel, but this turned out not to be the Divine plan. We know little about Haggai except his directness. He had no poetical soul, but he dealt with a real situation in a fine, large and effective way.

(414) **The Book of Zechariah.** The fourteen chapters included in the book of the prophet Zechariah fall clearly into two distinct sections, chapters 1 to 8, and chapters 9 to 14. The former group were written by the young contemporary of Haggai and give abundant and indisputable evidences of their authenticity and date. The remainder of the book seems to deal with a very different situation, and to breathe another spirit. One section is almost wholly concerned with the Temple, the other makes no allusion to it. They use different phraseologies, discuss different interests and move in a different circle of ideas. The age which seems clearly reflected by chapters 9-14 is the Greek age. (See § 472.)

(415) **Zechariah's Prophecies in Relation to the Second Temple.** (Zech. 1-8.) The predictions found in chapters 1-8 of the book of Zechariah belong to the same period as those of Haggai, but are of a much higher order. Zechariah was not only an apt pupil of the great prophets who preceded him, a scholar with all the resources of a trained intellect and as graphic in his methods as Ezekiel, but a man with a genius all his own. He voiced the lessons of the past, but also interpreted to the public conscience

the situation of his own day in a daring and impressive manner. In his first appeal for repentance, he is as direct and simple as Haggai. (1: 1-6.) When he used imagery, its elaborateness did not result in lack of effectiveness. The eight visions of chapters 1: 7 to 6: 8 reward careful study. The first two and the last deal with the relations of the Jewish community with the great world without. Zechariah seemed to delight in emphasizing the security which Israel should feel with Jehovah as a protector and supporter. The messengers report the earth at rest. (1: 8-11.) The "shaking" is over. Darius is victorious. Israel almost wonders whether Jehovah has not forgotten His people. So the prophet sets forth His tender and ardent love (1: 14). Every promise would be kept (1: 16, 17). Again the thought comes up of Israel's oppressive foes (1: 19). But for every horn there is a brawny man with a sledge, ready at Jehovah's word to smash it into bits. Again thoughts of the persistency of oppression suggest Jehovah's power, ready to manifest itself in any quarter at His will (6: 1-8). This conviction of the absolute adequacy of Jehovah's power, should He exert it, is a marked characteristic of the age. Alongside of it in Zechariah's visions is the assurance of the fulfilment of Jehovah's promises. The surveyor is seen about to take measurements for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. The word to him is that Jerusalem's population will far out-run any walls, and Jehovah is wall enough. (2: 1-5.) A declaration of equal cheer is that Zerubbabel and Joshua are under the watchful protection of Jehovah and will be filled by His spirit (4).^{*} A third series of visions lays stress upon the moral conditions which the new Temple should greet. The people are forgiven, cleansed and their religious leader honored (3). Sinners will be exterminated (5: 1-4) in the Judea of the future; and Madame Wickedness will be shipped off to Babylonia, where she belongs.

^{*} It is quite generally agreed today that the text of this chapter has become displaced. To get the right order read verses 1-5, 6*a* (to "saying"), 10*b* (after "Zerubbabel") to 14 (perhaps omitting 12), 6*b* to 10*a*. This arrangement makes good sense and gives a suitable conclusion.

(5:5-11.) These prophetic words are as clear-cut and forceful, as definite and stirring, as any found anywhere. They are worthily buttressed by the remaining passages: the symbolic prediction (6:9-15) that Zerubbabel would successfully complete the Temple and that he and Joshua would then rule side by side, the one as the Messianic king, the other as priest;* the tender and glowing rhapsody (2:6-13) over Zion, the "apple" of Jehovah's eye, whom He watches devotedly; the noble reply (7) to the question about fasting, which went to the very heart of practical religion;† and the series of splendid promises (8), inspired by the rapidly completing Temple, concerning the Jerusalem of the future, its happy people, and its widespread religious influence. These declarations reached a very high ethical and spiritual level.

Whether Zechariah was a true coadjutor of the Great Unknown, the student may judge. The latter may have been a resident of Palestine since there is evidence that Isaiah 60-62 was Palestinian in background. It is worth noting that Zechariah portrays an aloof, majestic Jehovah whose intermediaries are angels. This trend of thinking was probably due to Persian influence. The thought of fellowship with God stressed by Jeremiah and kept alive by psalmists, receded into the background. The religiously minded occupied their hearts with thoughts of Israel's glory rather than of her task as set forth in Isaiah 40-55.

7. THE RAPID COMPLETION AND DEDICATION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE. 516 B.C. (Ezra 5:2-6:22)

(416) This passage brings before us the attempts made to prevent the work upon the Temple, their failure, its final completion, and the joyous dedication.

* The text of verses 11-13 requires some amendment. Verses 12 and 13a, b almost certainly refer to Zerubbabel, while 13c refers to Joshua, and 13d to the two. Either Zerubbabel's name should be inserted in 11b or it should be substituted for the name of Joshua.

† Practically all students of the prophecies of Zechariah agree that verse 8 is a gloss and that verses 9 and 10 explain verse 7. Chapter 7 is one uninterrupted section.

The building of the Temple a coöperative task. 5: 1, 2. Cf. also Haggai and Zechariah 1-8.

The inquiry of Tattenai, the governor of the province, and its happy outcome. 5: 3-6: 13.

The completion of the Temple in the sixth year of Darius. 6: 14-25.
Its solemn dedication. 6: 16-22.

Note the official to whose attention the enterprise was called and the means he took to settle its legitimacy, the hunt in the royal archives, the decree of Darius (5: 6 to 6: 12), and the swift completion of the temple (6: 13-15). Note, finally, the statements (6: 16-22) reflecting not merely the popular joy but the careful use of the new sanctuary.

(417) **The Suspicious Governor and Generous Sovereign.** The story of Tattenai's interposition and of the attitude of Darius is taken from a trustworthy source, written in Aramaic. It bears upon its face the stamp of truth, although it gives clear evidence also of having passed through the Chronicler's editorial hands. The new governor of the province of Beyond-River, the country west of the Euphrates, heard of what was going on in the southern part of his district, and naturally determined to examine into it. The responsible Judean leaders gave their names and declared truthfully that they were doing what Cyrus had given them permission to do, so many years before, requesting that the matter be looked up, while they continued at the work. Darius caused a search to be made, found the original decree, and then issued one of his own, couched in generous terms. Tattenai was to offer no further opposition to the completion of the Temple. Moreover, he was to help them in the task, and to assist in providing for the daily offerings.

Darius, the Great, was renowned for his fair-mindedness. He could be stern and unyielding, but he delighted in keeping a sacred obligation. When the original decree was found in the royal archives and he felt certain that it had not been forfeited by misconduct, he both confirmed it and added graciously to it.

(418) **The New Temple.** The new Temple was probably in the matter of size and general arrangements a

duplicate of the old one. It had a Holy Place, and a Holy of Holies. In front of the former was a porch, and before that the great Altar of Burnt Offering. Against the three sides of the Temple were store chambers (Ezek. 8: 29; Neh. 10: 37, 38; 13: 4, 7-9), as in case of the former one.

The question of its furniture at the outset is perplexing. The Holy of Holies had no Ark, for it had disappeared. In the Holy Place stood the Table of Shewbread. Instead of several candlesticks one seven-branched candelabrum was used. An altar of incense stood eventually in the Holy Place, but how soon it was introduced is uncertain. The pillars and the great laver with its bronze bulls were gone. The new Temple was plainer than the old one, but it had one great advantage in its dignity. It crowned Mt. Zion; no other building disputed its supremacy. It embodied the unchallenged dominance of the Most High.

(419) **Its Significance.** Whether this Temple was glorious to the eye or not, it was of untold value to the Jewish people. It meant the return of Jehovah to His city and His people. It gave definiteness to the loyalty of every Israelite wherever he might be living. Its completion kindled anew in the minds of the people their distinctive hopes. It was the symbol of their religion; the visible sign of their hopes. Jerusalem became more of a rallying place; once more it had a chance of becoming important. It quickly became Judaism's working center.

(420) **The Disappearance of Zerubbabel.** The patriotic expectations of Haggai, Zechariah and their countrymen concerning Zerubbabel were doomed to disappointment. Haggai had predicted his reign and Zechariah had called him the "Branch." Yet he disappeared from view, and with him the Davidic dynastic hopes. Various conjectural reasons are given for this. Quite probably the scheme of organization which Darius favored, that of dividing his vast realm into twenty provinces, each ruled by a satrap whom he could trust, and of substituting Persian governors for local princes, led to the quiet setting aside of Zerubbabel and his family. Possibly he

attempted an intrigue of some sort, or a revolt, and was removed decisively from his sphere of influence. All that can be surely affirmed is that the Davidic dynasty came to an end, and with it the vigorous and wonderful prophetic dreaming of world-wide destiny. To the Jews in Palestine and to Jews everywhere this must have been deeply disheartening. Only one prophet was great enough to comprehend the real method through which God was to execute His purposes. Not through any political supremacy of the Jewish community in Judah, however devoted that group might show itself to be, but through the infiltration of the world of that day by little Jewish groups who went wherever business opportunity opened, was the world to be drawn toward higher religious ideals. The leadership for which all loyal Jews longed was not to be through the sort of king they anticipated. For the Divine purpose the Israel abroad became of greater importance than the Israel at home.

(421) **New Developments in Religious Thought and Worship.** The period of the exile gave rise to six marked religious changes which are worth recapitulating. In the first place there grew up in the minds of the people an apocalyptic tendency, whereby they seemed to expect that Jehovah would bring His promises to realization through the exercise of His overwhelming and catastrophic power. He would destroy Israel's foes and thus give her the chance which otherwise began to seem hopeless. This cropped out in Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah, not dominantly, but suggestively. Again there developed a growing sense of Jehovah's aloofness and awfulness alongside of the sense of His greatness. This was accompanied by a rapid growth, under Persian influence, no doubt, of a belief in angels, superhuman beings, who were Jehovah's intermediaries. The prophets of the later exile frequently refer to them. Another noticeable characteristic of the religious life of this era was the growth of ritual. The discovery that the Jewish people could be very religious without any Temple or altar at all did not prevent them from eagerly awaiting their oppor-

tunity to reestablish a better, more detailed sacrificial system, which should give more adequate expression to the national conviction of sin and the need of holiness. With this growth of ritual went a decided increase in the power and dignity of the priesthood. Finally, the working conditions of the exile had developed a form of social religious life in the synagogue with the reading of the Scriptures, prayer, exhortation and interpretation which became a permanent part of the "inheritance of Israel." There could be a synagogue anywhere.

(422) **The Literature of the Exile.** We have already seen how important, creative and impressive the prophetic utterances were in the days of the exile and restoration. It is only necessary to add that the experiences of the exile gave rise to many beautiful lyrics which are found in the book of Psalms (137; 9, 10; 6; 32). Doubtless also the trying experiences of the two generations gave rise to many pithy proverbs. How much editorial work was going on, particularly in the compilation of legal material, one can only conjecture. Undoubtedly the scribes were very active.

XV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUDAISM UNDER SCRIBAL INFLUENCE ON THE BASIS OF THE FULL LEVITICAL LAW.

516-400 B.C.

(Ezra 4: 6-23; 7-10; Nehemiah; Isaiah 34, 35, 55-66;

Malachi; Obadiah)

Persian Kings

Greek Rulers

Darius, 521-486

Xerxes I, 486-466

Artaxerxes I, 466-425

Darius II, 425-404

Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), 404-358

Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 358-337

Darius III, 337-331

Battle of Arbela and end of the Persian empire, 331

Philip, 359-336

Alexander, 336-323

(423) The century and more which followed the building of the second Temple witnessed the slow fruition of those tendencies to form and authority in religion which have already been noted. Ceremonialism seemed to suit

the age. No more than a glimpse is given of the events of this lengthy period until its last half century. We know little of the Israel within Judea and even less of the greater Israel abroad. Yet these unchronicled years must have been a time of burning zeal and steady activity, which came to their expression in the great ceremonial code of Judaism, and in the holy enthusiasm of the two great leaders who reconstructed the community at Jerusalem, and gave it once more a measure of confidence and strength.

The critical problems raised by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are very perplexing. One may question whether they will ever be settled to the unanimous satisfaction of all students. These books are clearly a compilation from very varied sources: memoirs of Nehemiah, quite evidently authentic; a narrative purporting to come from Ezra, evidently edited freely by the Chronicler; two Aramaic documents (Ezra 4: 8-23 and 5: 3 to 6: 15) of much historical value, and other material. The historical order of events is not at all the order of their narration. The historian is, therefore, compelled to adopt some order of his own, which necessarily is criticizable. Six events stand out from the disjointed narrative: (1) Frustrated efforts, in the days of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, to rebuild the walls of the city (Ezra 4: 6-23); (2) an attempt by Ezra to bring about a reform through his band of pilgrims (Ezra 7-10); (3) the rebuilding of the walls of the city under Nehemiah's leadership; (4) a second visit of Nehemiah to Judah thirteen years later; (5) the promulgation of the Law by Ezra, and (6) its formal adoption by the community. With regard to the priority of Ezra or Nehemiah, the very existence of Ezra as an individual and the extent of the "Law" adopted, there are very persistent differences of opinion among those entitled to hold opinions. The student must decide between them on general principles. During the half century following 450 B.C., several remarkable events took place. The general explanation of these events, as furnished by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, seems reasonable and worthy of credence.

The principal question relates to the order in which they happened. Under two great leaders, each a remarkable man in his own way, the Jerusalem community was not only given new life, unity and hope, but was led to adopt as its rule of social and religious life the elaborately developed laws which the earnest scribes in Babylonia had indefatigably collected, arranged and issued. By their advice also the people took the last step necessary for placing their community life definitely and permanently under priestly control, and for making the outward expression of their religious life distinctively ritualistic.

1. SIXTY YEARS WITHOUT BIBLICAL RECORD.
516 TO 458 OR 444 B.C.

(Isaiah 34, 35, 55-66; Malachi; Obadiah)

(424) This period of sixty or seventy years is without any record from the pen of the Chronicler, except possibly the vague verse Ezra 4: 6. Four distinct prophetic writings, however, may be, with reasonable assurance, assigned to the period.

The Inauguration of Israel's Golden Age

Jehovah's judgment is sure to fall upon His incorrigibly hostile foes who block the pathway of His purpose. Isaiah 34: 1-17.

A joyous, beautiful, glorious and safe future shall then follow for Jehovah's people. 35.

The Great Unknown's Last Vision about Jerusalem. (About 500 B.C.)

The new Jerusalem, purified and glorious. Isaiah 60.

The many-sided task of the true prophet. 61: 1-4.

Jehovah's people shall be the privileged among nations. 61: 5-11.

Righteous, triumphant Israel shall be Jehovah's delight, protected from despoiling. 62: 1-9.

Let all exiles return, so that Zion shall be recognized and honored. 62: 10-12.

The great political and religious transformation which the world will see. 19: 18-25.

Messages of Condemnation, Promise and Exhortation to the Judean Community. (About 460 B.C.)

Those who practice righteousness, even eunuchs and foreigners, shall have full Temple rights. Isaiah 56: 1-8.

The gluttonous, drunken rulers of the community and those who practice heathenish ways Jehovah must punish. 56: 9-57: 13.

To the humble and contrite the Holy One brings comfort, peace, and fellowship. 57: 14-21.

True Temple worship is not a perfunctory observance of ritual, but genuinely righteous procedure. 58.

With the crimes of the community which hinder its salvation Jehovah will resolutely deal. 59.

The "day" of His triumphant vengeance over His foes is at hand. 63: 1-6.

"Just as thou, O Jehovah, didst lovingly deliver Thy people in the past, so intervene again for us, unworthy as we are." 63: 7-64: 12.

The half-heathen in the community will incur Jehovah's righteous judgment: the faithful and loyal He will vindicate and bless. 65, 66.

The Vision of Obadiah Regarding Edom. (460-450 B.C.)

Word comes that other nations have combined against Edom. v. 1.

That proud, self-sufficient people Jehovah easily can humble. vs. 2-4.

O Edom, your trusted allies have driven you out, despite your wise men and warriors. vs. 5-9.

Malachi's Appeal for a True Community Reform. (About 450-440 B.C.)

[Superscription by the editor. 1: 1.]

Jehovah's attitude toward Edom only goes to prove His discriminating love for Jacob. 1: 2-5.

Yet the priesthood of the Temple dishonor Him, daring to offer blemished sacrifices, regarding their duties as wearisome, wholly unworthy of their great heritage. 1: 6-2: 9.

Moreover the people profane their covenant with Jehovah by divorcing their Jewish wives in order to marry foreign-born women. 2: 10-16.

Jehovah's purifying judgment will come suddenly to cleanse the priesthood and all evil-doers. 2: 17-3: 6.

Only the conscientious paying of what is due Him will bring His blessing. 3: 7-12.

The Day is coming when the godless and the faithful shall alike be dealt with suitably. 3: 13-4: 3.

Obey the (Deuteronomic) Law. A second Elijah will come to set right all social discord. 4: 4-6.

(425) Note that three different prophetic books contribute to this period. Try to realize that chapters 56-59, 63-66 of Isaiah refer to community reform, not to a deliverance from exile like 40-48, nor to Israel's world mission like 49-55, 60-62. Many scholars think that these chapters must have come from a third "Isaiah," who lived near the time of Malachi. The alternative, which regards Isaiah 34, 35, 40-66 as a unity, brings Second Isaiah down to this period. Note the beauty and brilliance of the vision of 60-62 and of the picture of the golden age in 34, 35.

(426) **The Course of Asiatic History.** The hopes of freedom and glory to which Haggai and Zechariah gave

occasional expression were not realized by the Jewish community. Darius crushed his adversaries and reorganized his great empire in peace. He had a long reign (521-485 B.C.) of thirty-six years. Having put his dominions into the order in which he delighted with an organization of satrapies, ruled by great administrators directly responsible to him, which gave it uniformity and unity, he turned his attention to the lands beyond the Bosphorus. In 513 B.C., with an army of 700,000 soldiers, he marched to the Danube and attacked the Scythians. The expedition was a failure because he could never compel his foes to come to a decisive battle with him. On his return he left Megabyzus with 80,000 men to conquer Thrace, while he extended his authority eastward. About 501 B.C., the Greek cities of Asia Minor, backed by help from Greece, gave Darius much trouble for a series of years, so he determined to subjugate the whole Hellenic peninsula. In 492 B.C., he sent Mardonius with a large army into Thrace and Macedonia, and also sent a fleet to the Peloponnesus. Both attacks were repulsed with loss. In 490 another Persian army was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under Miltiades. In the midst of his preparations for a third expedition Darius died.

The first task of the son of Darius, Xerxes I (486-466 B.C.), was to subdue a revolt in Egypt (486 B.C.), but he continued his father's purpose to crush at all costs the defiant Greeks. He raised the largest army the world had ever seen for their subjugation, and organized a great fleet. He accompanied the expedition in 480 B.C., but was a terror-stricken witness of the overwhelming defeat of the fleet at Salamis. The next year at Plataea, his huge army was defeated and scattered, while the reconstructed fleet was again defeated at Mycale. Henceforth the Greeks were aggressive and Persia had to fight for its life.

Artaxerxes I (466-425 B.C.), the next in succession, was the head of a decadent empire, so well organized, and with such colossal resources, that its weakening was hardly perceptible for a long while. Artaxerxes crushed

a formidable rebellion in Egypt, but was invariably unsuccessful in his wars with the Ionians and Greeks. His reign, or that of his grandson, Artaxerxes II, was of great importance to Israel.

(427) **The Edomites.** These hereditary foes of Israel, first conquered by David (II Sam. 8: 13, 14), reconquered, after a period of independence, by Jehoshaphat (I Kings 22: 47, 48), and again conquered by Amaziah (II Kings 14: 7), never failed to win their independence at the earliest opportunity, and to show their undying hatred for Judah (Amos 1: 11). The overthrow of Judah by Nebuchadrezzar caused the Edomites to rejoice, which, in turn, embittered Israel's prophets (Ezek. 25: 12-14; Isaiah 63: 1, 3, 4; Obad. 11-14), who looked upon Edom as typically godless.

From their secure city of Petra, hewn out of the very rocks, the Edomites were expelled at some unknown date between 500 and 450 B.C., by the Nabateans. This is the invasion mentioned in Mal. 1: 3. Soon after that they settled in southern Judah, their northern border at Beth-sur being less than twenty miles from Jerusalem.* This region remained in their hands and was the Idumaea of the New Testament. From it they manifested hostility for three centuries until John Hyrcanus thoroughly subdued, circumcised and annexed them, putting an end to their national history. (§ 491.)

(428) **The Cry of Obadiah for Vengeance upon Edom.** The little book of Obadiah may possibly belong to the days immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, to which clear reference is made in verses 10-14. The memory of those days of wanton insult rankled in the heart of every son of Judah (Ps. 108: 9). Probably, however, it belongs to the days just after Edom's seizure of the territory of southern Judah (vs. 19, 21). The "pride" of Edom had support in the sense of security afforded by the unique location of Petra in the heart of the Mt. Seir range and in its unusual beauty. The irregular, well-watered valley, a mile or two in length,

* See the uncolored portion of the lower left-hand map facing page 318.

shut in by lofty cliffs and approachable from the desert only by a long, narrow, winding gorge, was proof against any ordinary attacks. The cliffs were of soft rock, and within them the men of Edom excavated their homes. (Obad. 3.) Adventurous visitors of today pronounce its ruins strikingly attractive.

It is quite probable that Obad. 1-9 is an oracle of earlier date, perhaps of early exilic days, completed by a prophet who was a contemporary of Malachi. The book declares that the exultation which Edom exhibited long ago will be changed into humiliation. Jehovah's curse rests upon treachery. Edom's punishment is certain and Judah's return and mastery of Palestine is no less assured.

(429) **Israel's Glorious Future and the Character Demanded in Her People** (Isaiah 34, 35, 56-66). This final group of sermons from the book of Isaiah sounds the familiar prophetic keynotes, demanding higher standards of religious life and holding out beautiful promises to those to whom God is entrusting His work of world salvation, who look forward earnestly to that task. Chapters 34, 35 are clearly postexilic and, like Isaiah 60-62 and 19: 18-25 suggest the authorship of the Great Unknown by their nobly beautiful expression of the joyousness, glory and greatness of the task awaiting Jehovah's people, its manysidedness and universal range. Isaiah 56-59, 63-66, on the contrary, remind us of Malachi. They contain glowing messages to the Judean community which emphasize the character and qualities of those to whom God is entrusting His work of world salvation (56: 1, 2; 58: 6-14) and stern condemnation for those who persist in wickedness. Belonging to so late a period these chapters would have come from still another "Isaiah." If this is true, then the whole book of Isaiah, as we now have it, contains material dating all the way from 740 B.C. to perhaps 450 B.C. and represents the prophetic work of at least three great personalities, perfectly akin in matters of the spirit.

The theory (§ 399) that Isaiah 34, 35, 40-66 constitutes the work of one writer who lived in Palestine about 400

B.C. demands only the excision of a few passages referring to Cyrus as later editorial insertions to become attractive. Second Isaiah then becomes a series of twenty-seven stirring poems on Israel's future task.

(430) **Malachi's Presentation of the Moral Problems of the Day.** The book of Malachi is virtually anonymous. We cannot be sure that the name Malachi is a personal name. We do know, however, that some great-souled prophet gave expression to the words of the book not long before the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. He sounded just the note of reform that seems to have been needed by the corrupt and careless priesthood who neglected the Temple services, and the downcast, questioning community of good Israelites, who found themselves at a great disadvantage. Malachi stands midway between the seer and the sage. He has the devotedness, enthusiasm and ideas of the former and the formal method of the latter. He almost reviews preceding prophecy, enumerating Jehovah's persistent love for Israel (1:2; 2:10; 3:17), His fatherhood (1:6; 3:17), His holiness (1:6; 2:11), His unchanged ideals for priesthood and people (2:4-9, 17; 3:4-6), the need of repentance proven by deeds (2:15, 16; 3:4), the sure prosperity which will follow upon it (3:10-12), the "Day" of Jehovah (4:5) and its judgments (4:1), and the world-wide future (1:11; 3:12). He is curiously catholic in his sentiments. He rejoices at the way in which Jehovah is honored in the midst of the heathen world (1:11), which must be a tribute to the better side of paganism.

Malachi had good reason for his campaign. His people were depressed and careless, leaders and laity alike. They were losing the reality out of their religion. They were no better than many in the great heathen world. He uttered a ringing message of reform; no more cheapened religion, priestly irreverence, unbrotherly standards, "penny" offerings, righteous grumbling.

The description of Jehovah's "Day" (4:1-3) is a good sample of the apocalyptic temper which prophets begin to exhibit occasionally. The wicked are to be destroyed,

root and branch, like stubble. They are to be trodden under foot by the righteous. Compare such a hope with Isaiah 49: 6 (*per contra*, Isaiah 34: 2-4, 8; 63: 6).

2. THE REHABILITATION OF JERUSALEM UNDER NEHEMIAH'S LEADERSHIP. ABOUT 445-430 B.C.

(Nehemiah 1-7; 11: 1, 2; 12: 27-13: 31)

(431) These vividly written narratives, mainly extracts from the memoirs of Nehemiah, describe his appointment as governor, his quick journey to Jerusalem, the rapid building of the wall, the organization of the city and the various reforms which he instituted.

The delegation from Jerusalem appeals to Nehemiah at Susa. 1: 1-3.

His resolve to undertake the task of rebuilding Jerusalem. 1: 4-11.

His successful plea to Artaxerxes and appointment as governor. 2: 1-8.

His shrewd preliminary study of the situation at Jerusalem. 2: 9-16.

His successful appeal to the whole community to join in the enterprise. 2: 17-3: 32.

The various stratagems of Sanballat and his group to block the work on the wall. 4: 1-23; 6: 1-14, 17-19.

The measures taken by Nehemiah to redress the wrongs of the weak and poor in the community. 5: 1-13.

His own self-sacrificing generosity to all. 5: 14-19.

The noteworthy completion of the city wall. 6: 15, 16.

The measures taken to guard the city against attack. 7: 1-4.

Those taken to increase the population of the city. 11: 1, 2.

The solemn dedication of the walls. 12: 27-43.

Nehemiah's second visit and vigorous reforms. 13: 4-31.

Study this remarkable, straightforward, contemporary record by the one who was the leading actor. Every detail counts. The shrewdness and capacity as well as the true piety of Nehemiah stands out, his large-mindedness, his powers of strategy, his modesty along with his talent for leadership. Note the thoroughness of his service as shown in repopulating the city. Note also the record of his second visit and the five drastic measures of reform which he put through (13: 4-31).

(432) **The Records of Nehemiah's Activity.** The book of Nehemiah is a strange commingling of narrative of the very highest historical value (1-6), with less reliable material (8-10) thoroughly worked over by the Chronicler,

describing the public adoption of the Law, and lists and notices whose dates and meaning are very uncertain. The passages essential for our purpose of studying Nehemiah's contribution to the period are fortunately unquestionable. His first-hand memoirs err only in their brevity.

(433) **Nehemiah, the Man.** Few characters in the Old Testament are more engaging than Nehemiah. Occupying a post of great influence, dignity and attractiveness at the splendid Persian court, he had, nevertheless, a noble Jewish heart, which had often shown itself in acts of friendliness to Jews sold as slaves (5:8). When conditions at Jerusalem seemed altogether desperate, a small deputation of Jews made the long journey from Jerusalem to Susa to appeal to him. They did not reckon in vain on his loyalty. Seeing clearly what was needed at Jerusalem, and knowing his own power, Nehemiah dedicated himself unhesitatingly but prayerfully to the task of rehabilitating the holy city. He well knew the precarious nature of royal favor and the uncertainty of Artaxerxes' attitude, but bided his time, asked for the favor of Jehovah and waited. The wished-for moment came unexpectedly, but he was ready. Putting up a silent prayer for wisdom (2:4) he told the great king frankly why his face had betrayed his sorrow and made several comprehensive requests which the king granted. These details portray the man, his large-heartedness, true piety, fine courage, and his capacity for managing men and affairs. That there were many like him in the great world of that day accounts for the widespread influence and rapid success of Judaism abroad.

(434) **The Building of the Wall.** The new governor reached Jerusalem, properly escorted (2:9). As the king's friend, he was a formidable and worthy opponent in the eyes of Judah's enemies (2:10). His shrewdness was manifested in his determination to see the situation with his own eyes before announcing his program. Then, with burning conviction that the opportunity of lifting the "reproach" had come, he thrilled the people to united action, and the wall began to rise at once. Apparently

social and professional groups worked together, each with a specific portion of the wall assigned to it, so that a friendly spirit of emulation might be active. Nehemiah was director, architect, defender and diplomat all in one. His accounts of the measures taken by the triad directing the opposition forces are amusing. They throw a vivid light upon Nehemiah himself. Their derision did not move him (2: 19, 20); their mockery, especially that of Tobiah, touched him on the quick (4: 1-5); their threats he met by closer and more careful organization of his forces (4: 7-23); their schemes he saw through (6: 1-4); their accusation of treason, so dangerous in an empire where they executed an accused man and then investigated, he met with a noble denial (6: 5-9); the diabolically deceptive advice of Shemaiah, the prophet, he did not take because of his natural modesty and fineness of spirit (6: 10-13). Only a very genuinely great man would have passed these ordeals unscathed. But Nehemiah kept his head and busied his hands, and the wall went to completion in a very short time. Many portions, of course, needed relatively little repair.

(435) **The Organization of Jerusalem and Dedication of the Wall.** In September, 444 B.C., the great task being completed, Nehemiah turned his attention to three essential measures, the populating of the city, the organization of its control, and the formal dedication of the wall. During the preceding century or less it had been impracticable for many Judeans to live within the ruined city. The great bulk of the people in the little community, as an inspection of the villages mentioned in chapter 3 suggests, were living within twenty miles or less of Jerusalem. Many of these volunteered to reside in Jerusalem. A few may have been forced to follow their example. The city was placed in charge of a special governor, Hanani, and well organized (7: 1-3). Nehemiah showed his genius for leadership by holding a solemn festival of dedication. The account of it is given partly in the characteristic style of the Chronicler (12: 27-30, 41-42), and partly in a Chronicler's revision of Nehemiah's memoir (12: 31-40,

43). All the notable people in the community shared with him in the solemn service, which indicated to every spectator the larger significance of the enterprise so well concluded.

(436) **Nehemiah's Social Reforms.** The thirteenth chapter of the book of Nehemiah has evidently been recast by the Chronicler, yet it is so lifelike that we must suppose that it records the events of Nehemiah's second visit, at a time subsequent to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, 432 B.C. The fifth chapter illustrates the fine spirit which made him an effective reformer. He found the well-to-do preying mercilessly upon the helpless and needy, breaking the acknowledged law (Deut. 23:20). He summoned the people to a great council (5:7) and denounced them unsparingly (5:8). He was able to point to his own generous example and urge a reform, which was carried through (5:9-13).

At some later time Nehemiah carried through five important reforming measures in a strenuous way. He found Tobiah, the Ammonite, occupying a room within the Temple precincts, which was really needed for storing the tithes brought, in accordance with the Deuteronomic law (Deut. 18:4; 14:27, 28), to the Temple for the Levites. Expelling Tobiah, he also appointed a representative committee (13:13), to which he intrusted the work of receiving and distributing these tithes. The proper observance of the Sabbath (13:15-22) and the abstention from marriage alliances with Gentiles (13:23-27) he insisted upon. Finally he found that a chief offender was a grandson of the high priest. This man had married a daughter of Sanballat. Nehemiah expelled him from Judea. These were salutary measures, and tended to unify and hearten the Jewish community.

(437) **The Significance of Nehemiah's Work.** Nehemiah did more than build a wall. He created a new and hopeful community, self-respecting and aggressive. He linked all Jewry with a bond of brotherliness. He did his work so finely that he aroused a new sense of national importance in the minds of his disheartened people.

They saw in Nehemiah the best characteristics of their people — patriotism, efficiency, zeal, spirituality, far-sightedness and friendliness. He made possible that sweeping transformation in the personal, social, ceremonial and religious life of the Jewish people which is associated with the name of Ezra.

3. THE MISSION OF EZRA, THE SCRIBE, TO JUDAH. PROBABLY ABOUT 397 B.C. (Ezra 7-10; 4:7-23)

(438) These passages describe the important mission of the scribe Ezra to Judah with the "book of the Law," with which he sought to accomplish a thoroughgoing reform.

The evils which came to prevail in the Jerusalem community. Isaiah 59: 1-8; Malachi 1: 7-10, 13; 2: 10-11; 3: 8.

How Ezra the scribe obtained permission to lead an expedition from Babylon to Jerusalem. Ezra 7.

The departure from Babylonia and safe arrival at Jerusalem. 8.

Ezra's decisive action in regard to mixed marriages. 9, 10.

An attempt to build the wall of the city frustrated. 4: 8-23.

Notice the name of the sovereign with whose permission Ezra came to Judah. Whether he was the first of the name or Artaxerxes Mnemon of 404-358 B.C. is not indicated. Probably he was the latter. Consider Ezra's lineage and profession (7: 1-6) and his dearest wish (7: 7). What seven privileges did the king grant him (7: 13, 16, 17, 20, 24-26) and what resources (7: 22)? Note his determination to have a truly representative group with him (8: 15-20). Note also his impulsiveness (7: 22; 9: 3; 10: 6), a human trait not usually attributed to an idealized "type." How did the company of pilgrims show its gratitude for Divine protection during the long and perilous journey (8: 35, 36)? Read the account of Ezra's dealing with the mixed marriage question, noting the serious charge (9: 2), Ezra's manifestations of dismay (9: 3-5; 10: 1), his prayer and its climax (9: 6-15), the proposal of Schecaniah and its prompt acceptance (10: 2-8), Ezra's forgetfulness of all other matters (10: 9, 13) and the speed with which Ezra's commission did its work (10: 16, 17).

(439) Ezra, the Ready Scribe, in the Law of Moses.

Professor Torrey, and other reverent and dispassionate students of the Ezra narratives, have shown conclusively that Ezra 7-10 comes from the pen of the Chronicler who lived over two hundred years later than Ezra's time, and unquestionably idealized Ezra's own work. With his conclusion that Ezra is little more than a personification of the great historical movement that shaped the life of the Jewish people in the century immediately following the work of Nehemiah, it is permissible to differ. Ezra, in his way, is as clear-cut a personality as Nehemiah. He is as surely demanded by the developing situation as that great leader. It is very strange that the records concerning the work of both leaders are in such confused order, that each ignores the other in such portions of the record as seem reasonably original, and that Ben-Sirach, in his review of the famous men of Israel, about 200 B.C. (Ecclesiasticus 44: 1 to 50: 24) mentions Nehemiah, but not Ezra. Notwithstanding these unquestionable facts, the omission of Ezra as a personality seems to narrow and misinterpret the movement of the times for religious reforms based upon the newly edited Law. Even if Ezra 7-10 cannot be given the value of an original memoir like Neh. 1-6, it must have been based upon original material in order to produce a portraiture like that of Ezra. On the other hand, the Chronicler used his material with freedom. Whether Ezra appeared in Judah before or after Nehemiah is a disputed question, although not one of vital importance. The trend of scholarly judgment favors the conclusion that Nehemiah prepared the way for Ezra whose activity may have been later by a generation. Any possible scheme involves difficulties* and should be held tentatively.

(440) His Sweeping Work of Reform at Jerusalem.

The story is as follows: Ezra, a famous and learned scribe, passionately devoted to the institutional development of religion, believing that his kinsmen in Judah were ignorant

*Recent research trends toward placing both Nehemiah and Ezra under Artaxerxes II., in which case the Biblical order of events would stand.

of the splendid standards of religious and social life which he and his brethren had worked out to a successful completion in Babylonia, and burning with zeal to secure their adoption in the Holy Land and city, so as to make it the real religious center of Israel, secured permission from Artaxerxes to head a new pilgrimage to Judah. The narrative credits him with getting remarkable privileges from the sovereign. Both the extent of the authority, and the amount of the treasure, may be suspected by the historian. In B.C. 458 or more likely in B.C. 397, Ezra collected a band of about fifteen hundred men, every man reliable and dead in earnest. Soon after his safe arrival at Jerusalem, he learned of the prevalent carelessness about intermarrying with the mixed peoples of Palestine. He saw the serious consequences of this laxity, and stirred the consciences of the people. They begged him to set the situation right. A commission in the course of three months carried a drastic reform through to the finish. If the new law had already been adopted, this action was normal.

(441) **The Attempt to Build up Jerusalem.** It is not, in itself, improbable that such an impulsive, one-ideal leader as Ezra should have led the community in a movement to put Jerusalem into a more secure state, if that was necessary. If Ezra 4: 8-23 implies an attempt to build the walls, it must refer either to such an attempt under Ezra's leadership or to Nehemiah's enterprise. On the whole the latter alternative seems more probable. The surrounding peoples are reported to have objected to the strengthening of Jerusalem, and to have managed to get a restraining order from Artaxerxes. That the king should be capable of graciously giving a firman in one year, and then of reversing his action several years later, is not remarkable. Judah was the smallest possible spot in his vast dominions. It is quite unlikely that either matter bulked largely in his thinking.

4. THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW LAW. SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 445 B.C. AND 390 B.C.

(Nehemiah 7:73b-10:39)

(442) These passages describe the public adoption by the Judean community of the new law which Ezra set forth.

The public reading and explanation of the Law under Ezra's direction. 7:73b to 8:8.

The effect upon the listening people and Ezra's fine advice. 8:9-12.

The proper celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. 8:13-18.

The public fast and confession of national sinfulness. 9.

The solemn covenant to obey the new Law. 10:1-29.

Its eight obligations. 10:30-39.

Notice the public demand that Ezra should read the new Law publicly (8:1) and the care taken that it should be understood by all (8:8, 12). Note also the well-known feast, now held in accordance with these regulations (8:13-18). Note the rather unusual method of ratification (9:38). Of the eight specific obligations undertaken (10:30-39), five were new to those Jews who still held to the Deuteronomic law.

(443) **Ezra Redivivus.** One of the questions which these books do not enable us to answer with absolute satisfaction is the position of Ezra during Nehemiah's active years. Many scholars think that they never saw each other, Ezra's activity really belonging to the first decade of the next century, under Artaxerxes II. If Ezra's first appearance antedated that of Nehemiah, as a superficial reading of the book of Ezra would imply, then Ezra would have been in retirement, possibly in Babylonia. That Nehemiah did not mention him does not prove anything. In the narrative of the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:27-43) the references to Ezra (12:33, 36) may, of course, be insertions, but not necessarily. His presence was highly appropriate. In the story of the national assembly and the adoption of the new covenant, the Chronicler has freely revised the data. Yet the introduction of Ezra and the essential details of the solemn assembly seem historical. The time had come when the rebuilding

of the wall involved also the raising of a "fence of the law" to maintain the purity of the Jewish blood, language, worship and morals.

(444) **The Great Assembly.** At a time which cannot be surely determined, either about 445 or 397 B.C., the whole people were gathered together with some spontaneity to listen to Ezra as he expounded the law to them. Ezra was a man of God who commanded the profound respect of the people. The result of the impulse given by Nehemiah was to quicken the popular conscience, and make every one receptive. It was Ezra's opportunity, and he seized it. For hours he read to the people the book of the Law, while his associates reinterpreted the Hebrew into Aramaic, the people's language. It was a wonderful day, moving many to tears. The leaders encouraged them to rejoice over the purpose that was uppermost in each mind. A wave of glad obedience swept through the throng. They found the record of the proper keeping of the feast of Tabernacles and willingly set themselves to celebrate as they never had before. The great meaning and value of ceremonialism as a system of holiness dawned upon their minds.

(445) **The Solemn Covenant.** The outcome of all this was a solemn rededication of themselves to God's service, and the signing of a covenant to order their lives by the law, under new standards, as recommended by Ezra. Possibly no one but a priest or a scribe would have thought of getting the pledge in black and white. As an ideal, it contrasted oddly with Jeremiah's noble conception (Jer. 31:33) of a covenant. The people, through their representatives (10:1-27) agreed to obey the law in respect to (1) abstention from marriage with those of alien blood, (2) the observance of the Sabbath, (3) the observance of the sabbatical year, and (4) the regular and responsible provision of supplies for the Temple and its ministry. They thus bound themselves to enter seriously and heartily into the support of a far stricter ceremonial law.

(446) **The Book of Ruth a Protest against the Measures against Aliens.** It is generally held that the beauti-

ful idyll of Ruth was written at this period as a "Tract for the Time." It indirectly argues for the views of those who, in the fine spirit of the "Great Unknown," believed that Israel had a mission to the heathen and must cultivate relations with them. It simply shows that Ruth, the ancestress of David, was a Moabitess and yet a great and noble-minded lady. It pointed its own moral. But Ezra would not have been moved by argument. The times had changed; and in his judgment, as well as that of Nehemiah (Neh. 13:25, 27), Israel's only safety lay now in exclusiveness. (See § 160.)

5. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUDAISM ON THE BASIS OF THE FULL LEVITICAL LAW AS A SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CORPORATE UNITY. ABOUT 400 B.C.

(447) **The Priests' Code.** The original records of the history of the Hebrew people, examined in due course, have made it very clear that from the days of Josiah in 621 B.C. to the time of Ezra's reform, the standard law of Jewish life had been the Deuteronomic law. Nehemiah and Ezra based their reforms upon another code of law, much more elaborate than the one in the book of Deuteronomy, and found, at present, in the books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. It is known as the Levitical or Priestly Code (or codes). It was new to the Palestinian community. (Ezra 7:14, 25; Neh. 8:9-18.) It largely supplanted the old family sacrificial feasts and the joyous public festivals by solemn temple offerings and religious assemblies at fixed dates. The ritual was thus purged of all pagan elements.

The Priestly Code is not a well-constructed whole, but rather a series of smaller groups of ceremonial legislation. Some of the laws reiterate in slightly different form those of the older, primitive or Deuteronomic codes, but generally they supplement these earlier codes. The collation, formulation and codification of these laws was part of a movement beginning in the Exile with the Holiness legislation (§ 393), furthered by Ezekiel in his scheme for

Israel's future (§ 388) and vigorously continued by the prophets and priests who gave themselves to the literary tasks of the Exile (§ 392). The following outline will aid the reader to understand it as a whole:

The Priestly Code

- Passover regulations. Exod. 12.
- Regulations regarding the (idealized) Tabernacle. Exod. 25-29, 35-40.
- The law of the Sabbath. Exod. 35: 2, 3.
- Laws relating to sacrifice. Lev. 1-7.
- The consecration of priests. Lev. 8-10.
- Laws of ritual cleanliness. Lev. 11-15.
- [The Holiness Code (§ 393). Lev. 17-26.]
- The financial commutation of sacrifices and vows. Lev. 27.
- Concerning Levites. Num. 3.
- Laws about seclusion, restitution, the ordeal and the Nazirite. Num. 5: 1 to 6: 21.
- Ceremonial regulations. Num. 15.
- The duties and dues of priests and Levites. Num. 18.
- Purification of the unclean. Num. 19.
- Laws of inheritance. Num. 27: 1-11; 36: 1-12.
- Offerings on holy days. Num. 28, 29.
- When vows are to be regarded as binding. Num. 30.
- Designation of Levitical cities and cities of refuge. Num. 35.

The purpose of these editors was a high and holy one. They longed to make Israel a holy, righteous people. So (1) they centered all life at the Temple; (2) guarded the Temple from pollution from any source, even honest worshippers; (3) made its worship attractive; (4) insured the ceremonial purity of the priesthood; (5) tried to insure likewise the ceremonial cleanliness of the people by strict rules of purification and eating; (6) provided an elaborate system of offerings which emphasized the guilt of indifference; (7) prohibited marriage with the heathen; (8) emphasized the rigid observance of the Sabbath, of circumcision and other institutional acts. The motive in all this was noble, but the historian is bound to think that it was a departure, not intentionally so much as in reality, from the prophetic ideals. It defined duty in terms of ceremonial rather than in terms of spirituality.

(448) **The Third Great National History.** The very motives which sustained this movement explain a parallel achievement of great importance. Among this same

priestly group were men who rejoiced, no doubt, in the splendid, combined, prophetic history and law book JED (§ 392), which preserved for their generation the noble idealism and sympathetic interpretations of the two great historians of pre-exilic Israel (§§ 244, 264), and yet felt that some details of real importance were lacking in that work. They had come to feel that the institutions which Israel had developed during her long history were supremely valuable, but JED said comparatively little about them. These men set themselves to the task of writing a history which should adequately explain the origin and value of Israel's peculiar institutions and trace the genealogical data regarded by these men as of such supreme value. The origins of various customs, the gradual development of the sense of a covenant relationship, the institution of ritual practices were the themes which seemed momentous and worthy of recounting. Accustomed to ascribe all legislation to Moses in the literal sense, they conceived of it all as being promulgated at Sinai. It is known as P.

The History P in Genesis

- The stately history of Creation. 1: 1 to 2: 4a.
- The traditional forefathers of the human race. 5.
- The flood and the covenant of promise. 6: 9-22; 7: 6, 11, 13-16a, 18-21, 24; 8: 1, 2a, 3b, 4, 5, 13a, 14-20; 9: 1-17, 28, 29.
- The descendants of Noah's sons. 10: 1-7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32; 11: 10-27, 31, 32; 12: 4b, 5.
- The separation of Abraham and Lot. 13: 6, 12.
- The birth of Ishmael. 16: 1a, 3, 15.
- The Divine covenant and promise. 17: 1-14.
- The promise of a son to aged Sarah and the institution of circumcision. 17: 15-27.
- The destruction of Sodom. 19: 29.
- The birth of Isaac. 21: 1b, 2b-5.
- His wife. 25: 19, 20.
- The death of Sarah and purchase of Machpelah. 23: 1-20.
- The death of Abraham. 25: 7-11a.
- His Arabian descendants. 25: 12-17.
- The marriage of Esau. 26: 34, 35.
- Jacob's departure to Aram. 27: 46 to 28: 9.
- His children. 35: 22b-26; 37: 2a.
- His return to Bethel. 35: 9-13, 15.
- The death of Isaac. 35: 27-29.
- Esau's departure to Seir; his descendants. 36: 1-43.

Jacob's transfer to Egypt. 46: 6-27.

His welcome by the Pharaoh. 47: 5b, 11, 27b, 28.

Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons. 48: 3-7.

His charge to his sons. 49: 1a, 28b-33.

His burial. 50: 12, 13.

The reader can now understand the remark of a historian who declared that Genesis 1 stands side by side with Isaiah 40-48 in its conception of Jehovah and could hardly have been thought out earlier than the exile. The work followed mainly the dreary lines of an institutional history, intensely interesting to those whose minds ran in a priestly channel, quite devoid of charm to a literary soul. It did not run in human lines, but over-emphasized the Divine power and the ritualistic form. The priestly history, almost certainly in its picture of an elaborately fitted Tabernacle and a mathematically arranged camp in the wilderness and in its huge estimates of time or number, represents an idealization. The simplicity of the prophetic traditions must be nearer the historic reality.

(449) **The Hexateuch, JEDP.** The final step of literary growth which united JED with P into our present noble historico-legal work, the Hexateuch, must have been taken not far from the fourth century B.C. The viewpoint of the writers of P, which included both the priestly history and the laws, was the dominant feeling of the age. Still they deeply valued the prophetic histories, which had for not less than three centuries been recognized as a family "Bible" for godly Hebrews, placed side by side with the prophetic writings. The natural solution was the use of the priestly material as the groundwork of a new combination into which the earlier prophetic history was fitted with special favor for the Judean prophetic history, "J."*

We thus come to understand the presence in the Hexateuch of childlike narrative, of prophetic idealism,

* One who desires to read for himself the whole Hexateuch analyzed in accordance with the sober judgment of scholars wholly friendly to the Bible's deepest values can consult Professor Kent's *Student's Old Testament*, Vol. I, or use Moffatt's choice translation of the Bible (1927).

of matured theology and of ritualism. It is a thesaurus of law, literature, history and religion, a curious mosaic of very varied material, some of it primitive, some of it mature. It is not a uniformly written narrative of events from creation to the days of the judges, but a collection of data, historical, religious, legal and genealogical. It represents a direct literary history of not less than three or four centuries and makes abundant use of far older material. It combines in interesting fashion the two great elements in religion which struggle today in the Christian church, the moral and the institutional. It reflects all stages of religious growth and appeals today to all kinds of religious need. We may be devoutly thankful that God permitted His Word to grow in just such a way.

(450) **What Judaism Meant as a Working System.** The adoption by the community at Jerusalem of the Levitical law meant that henceforth the Jewish people were wholly dominated by the priesthood, who controlled the Temple. It became the center of their life. In its services the people found great joy. The cost of the stately and beautiful service was heavy, but was cheerfully borne. Life became standardized to a degree unknown before. Each day's duties were so complicated and numerous that there was less and less of individual initiative in worship. The most important interests came to be those of religion. Such a life seemed, however, far from burdensome. Obedience seemed a glad privilege and faithfulness a blessing.

"Oh, how I love thy Law,
It is my meditation all the day."

The fifteenth psalm exhibits impressively the comingling of prophetic standards and institutional forms, which might characterize the religious life of a representative Jew of early Judaism.

(451) **The Significance of Judaism.** The substitution of ritualism for religious spontaneity replaced the disorders of the earlier religious life by a systematized worship marked by dignity, impressiveness, and purity. Judaism became, however, more than a machine-like

scheme of regularity in worship directed by an elaborate ecclesiastical organization. It was a body of enlightened thinking about God and the world which put forth a steady current of religious idealism, so well organized and maintained by habitual practices that it could challenge successfully the opposition of pagan life and thought. It nurtured personal piety such as finds glorious expression in the Psalter, and it developed a religiously minded judgment regarding the details of life in all its phases which found rich expression in Job, Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs. There were many counter-currents of thought in the Israel of the fourth century or so. The books of Ruth and of Jonah express the protest of some noble souls against the excessive application of the idea of exclusiveness. Judaism did not deaden the popular mind and heart, but stimulated it to joyous, earnest hopefulness. It was a real embodiment of a thousand years of fine religious experience and thinking organized into a system of procedure which aimed to exalt God, to promote holiness, and to prepare for executing His will. It had both the advantages and the dangers of organized truth. The Jewish people were now ready for their historic task.

(452) **The Old Testament about B.C. 400.** The last question the student may well ask will concern the Scriptures in the year 400 B.C: As we have just seen, the Hexateuch, practically in its present form, had been wrought out, and the historical books as far as Second Kings inclusive. Doubtless many psalms and many proverbs were familiar treasures; and small collections of these abounded. Thirteen prophetic writings were available, but the later grouping of the Old Testament (§ 12) had not yet been reached. The adoption of the Levitical law was the last and most decisive step in a process of growing dependence upon the written word of Jehovah, which led to formal canonical recognition, first of the Pentateuch, then of the histories and prophetic writings. This recognition was completed not later than 200 B.C., and may have taken place much earlier. The matter of importance is to see that the nation now was in the mood

to realize that Jehovah had been speaking to them for many generations in varied ways and with many messages, all of which acquired a new and sacred value to all on whose hearts God set His seal.

6. THE ISRAEL OF THE EXILE.

(453) A Review of the Period Preparatory to Judaism.

Duration of the Period. What was its length? Mention three significant dates.

Its Great Events. Thinking back to the beginning of the exile, what five events seem of most importance?

Its Notable Leaders. Name in the order of their importance the five most important men of Israel mentioned in the narratives.

The Nations with which the Jews were in Contact. In these two centuries or less, seven or eight nationalities, little and big, have been mentioned. Mention two of the first rank and two of the second rank.

The Records. What Biblical books have been wholly or partially considered during our study of the period? How many classes of literature do they represent? Mention at least six great passages which have interested you.

Their History of Prophecy. Place in order the six prophets of this era, and indicate the principal message of each one.

Their History of the Temple. Review the history of the Temple during this period.

Their Story of Religious Development. How did a religiously minded man of Ezra's day differ from such a man at the beginning of the exile?

Their Story of Literary Development. What great literary advances did the age witness?

Their Political Story. What became of the royal family of Judah and its authority?

A True Title for the Age. Is "productivity" the most characteristic fact about the age?

Its Dominating Factor. What influence predominated to bring the age to its conclusion?

Its Contribution to Religion. Was the increased emphasis on law and ceremonial an advance in religion?

XVI

SOME QUESTIONS IN GENERAL REVIEW OF HEBREW AND JEWISH HISTORY FROM 1000 B.C. TO 400 B.C.

(454) 1. Picture the western Asiatic world at the end of Solomon's reign, classifying the nationalities as greater than the Hebrew kingdom, measurably equal to it, or inferior in power.

2. What kings of either Hebrew kingdom followed Solomon's example in the fostering of trade?

3. When and how did the leading people of these two kingdoms become inhabitants of cities rather than peasant farmers?

4. Were the editors of the books of Kings justified in their repeated condemnation of Jeroboam I (I Kings 14: 16; 15: 30; 16: 2, 26)? Did they mean to imply that he was unusually wicked?

5. Who was the first Hebrew king to introduce the Aramean scourge into Palestine? Were his probable reasons such as to justify his policy?

6. Compare in royal values Jeroboam I, Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Joash and Jeroboam II, and arrange them in the order of greatness.

7. What were the causes, remote and immediate, for the disruption of Solomon's kingdom?

8. Compare the two resultant kingdoms in area, resources, population, security and characteristics.

9. In what two opposite ways did Phoenicia impress herself upon Israel and Judah? Why did they never go to war with her, although often warring with Philistia, south of Phoenicia, and with the Aramean peoples to the north?

10. Why did Samaria so quickly become a city of importance? How long did it exist in history as a city?

11. When was the northern kingdom at its height of prosperity and power? When did it include the greatest

extent of territory? What was its finest contribution to Hebrew civilization?

12. What was the dangerous difference between the inherited Canaanitish Baalism, undisturbed by Elijah and Elisha, and the imported Phoenician Baalism against which they waged deadly warfare? In what respects did the inherited Baalism affect Jehovah worship? Why did the prophets after Amos attack it also? When did it cease to be dangerous?

13. From what is recorded concerning the prophets, Micaiah, Elijah and Elisha, what would be a fair inference regarding the legitimate duties of a prophetic leader in Israel, in the ninth century B.C.? Would these include public preaching? Which of the great prophets of later days most resembled these men in his activities?

14. Trace the history of the Temple from Solomon's day to the exile. About when did it change from being a favorite royal chapel or shrine into the distinctively national religious center? What was the principal value of the second Temple?

15. How many dynasties occupied the throne of the northern kingdom? Which dynasty did the most for the kingdom? How many dynasties lasted less than a year?

16. What four great nations assumed the overlordship of Palestine between 937 and 400 B.C.? and for what respective periods? Which one of the four most vitally influenced Israel and Judah and in what particular ways?

17. For what historical reasons did the Hebrew people have the opportunity to build up their little kingdoms, undisturbed by powerful and ambitious world rulers, until the eighth century B.C.?

18. Trace the growth of Jerusalem from its founding down to its destruction in 586 B.C. What influences contributed to her gradual supremacy? How could Isaiah believe Jerusalem to be inviolable and declare that Jehovah would not permit the Assyrians to set foot within the city, and yet Jeremiah declare that Jehovah was in favor of her surrender?

19. When and why did Jerusalem become of greater importance as an ideal than as an actual city?

20. Why was the work of Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls and reorganizing the city of such great importance?

21. When did the Hebrew people begin to be a literary people in any reasonable sense? What century of the six centuries under consideration might be termed the "golden age" of their literature? To what outside influence were they most indebted for literary advance?

22. Trace the steps of the religious growth of the Hebrew peoples from the conventional loyalty to Jehovah of the days of Solomon to the deliberate reliance upon the one universal Deity characteristic of the Jew after the exile.

23. What four prophets did their work in the latter half of the eighth century B.C.? What distinctive contributions did they make to religious thinking? What were their limitations as religious thinkers?

24. What five prophets were active in the half century just preceding the exile? Which one paralleled all the others? What new ideas did they express? What permanent forward steps in religious thinking did the two most prominent ones establish?

25. How many prophetic utterances can be ascribed to the two centuries from 586 to 400 B.C.? What great prophetic ideas were characteristic of this age?

26. When was the Messianic idea first formulated in prophetic thinking? Through what phases did it pass prior to 400 B.C.?

27. When did the missionary aspect of Israel's future find its earliest expression? When was it given effective statement?

28. Trace the growth of Israel's legislation. At what three periods during these six hundred years was there an outburst of great interest in the Law?

29. What is the outstanding difference between prophecy and apocalypse? What prophets prior to 400 B.C. betrayed the influence of apocalyptical thinking?

30. What was prophecy's most fundamental idea, the one by which each prophet is given a rating? What one or two other ideas does nearly every prophet touch upon in some form?

31. Of what value to the two Hebrew kingdoms was their rivalry with Aram?

32. Of the eight great rulers of the Assyrian empire between Ashurnazirpal and Ashurbanipal, which one was of the greatest significance to the Hebrew people and why?

33. How many capital cities came to their destruction during these centuries? Where were they located and by whom were they captured and destroyed?

34. How many Hebrew prophets predicted the downfall of Nineveh? How many that of Babylon? How many that of Jerusalem?

35. Of the dozen or so prophetic writings published during the eighth to the fourth centuries inclusive, which one seems on the whole to be most representative of all the elements in Israelitish prophecy?

36. Distinguish between the eternal elements in prophecy, those which were emphasized by every prophet, and the temporary elements, essential to the message of their day that it might be intelligible, but destined to drop out of consideration.

37. Which king of Judah is on the whole entitled to pre-eminence as the one who did most for his people? Which one was the worst king?

38. Compare as world rulers Ashurnazirpal, Tiglath-pileser III, Ashurbanipal, Nebuchadrezzar, Cyrus and Darius. Which one made the greatest success and why?

39. Among the Hebrews portrayed in the writings of these six centuries, who seems the most attractive?

40. Among the varied writings of these centuries, which three should be ranked as foremost in quality?

41. What was the secret of the rapid decline of the kingdom of Judah after Hezekiah's day?

42. In what respects was the exile a blessing to the Jewish race? Where was its home and what were its ambitions thereafter?

43. Was the second Temple a help or a hindrance to the ideal religious development of the Jewish people?

44. Was the ceremonial law as completed by Ezra and his colleagues a means of grace or a stumbling block to the Jews of Ezra's time?

45. Was Judaism as a system a historical blunder of great magnitude or a real stage of advancing religious growth?

46. In the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, where were the Jews to be found outside of Judea? What were the two other centers of unusual importance?

47. Of all the influences within and without concerned in the education of the Hebrew people — the priesthood, the Temple, the ritual, the Law, prophecy, wisdom, nationalism, ambitious kings, the ideal future, foreign ideals and customs, the greater world, inherited ideals — to which should be given the foremost place?

48. When may the nation be said to have attained the lofty position — so long her divinely directed goal — of the world's teacher of religion?

49. What element in the history of the Jewish people makes it religiously valuable beyond that of other peoples?

50. What are the elements which give to Israel's history and literature an unending value of an intimate, personal nature?

THE AGE OF FIXED CONVICTIONS:
THE JEWS A PEOPLE LIVING UNDER
A WRITTEN LAW

THE AGE OF FIXED CONVICTIONS: THE JEWS A PEOPLE LIVING UNDER A WRITTEN LAW

From the Establishment of Judaism to the Complete Destruction of Jewish Nationality. 400 B.C. to 135 A.D. (Four Prophetical Books or Portions; One Apocalypse; the Wisdom Writings; the Chronicler's History; the Psalter; Esther; First and Second Maccabees; Tobit; Judith; Josephus; and Many Other Uncanonical Writings.)

(455) The greater portion of this period of more than five hundred years has been termed "the period of silence," because no direct record of it is found in the Old Testament. The title is curiously inept. These centuries may not have shown such flashes of creative idealism as those which stirred the souls of loyal Jews in the later exile and thereafter, but they had their own peculiar significance. With the real establishment of Judaism as a religious system, the creative impulse of the Jewish race seemed to wane. There seemed nothing more to know about God or humanity, obligation or opportunity. These great matters had been given a development beyond which the Hebrew mind did not feel the need of going. It felt that it had received a perfect revelation. The task remaining was to interpret and apply that revelation to the needs both of the Jewish people and of humankind. Out of the necessity of maintaining all that had been gained religiously grew the supreme importance of the priesthood in the Israel of these centuries; but second only to the hierarchy in public esteem were the scholarly interpreters, the earnest teachers and the wise thinkers, who were indefatigable in determining the duty of every man in the light of the sane and splendid revelation of Jehovah through His priests and prophets. With the passing of dynastic hopes (§ 420) the apocalyptic type of thinking (§ 500) steadily gained ground in the popular mind. No one doubted that God would carry out His plans in His own good

time. Most men interpreted those plans in a political sense, expecting that their fulfilment meant the political headship of the world for Israel, and a centralizing of all influence, political and religious alike, at Jerusalem. How this could come about, except by catastrophic action on the part of God, who would sweep away all those opposing His purpose, they could not see. They quite forgot or failed to appreciate the real meaning of Isaiah 52: 13 to 53: 12 with its picture of triumph through suffering, not through conquest. During the last three centuries of this period the apocalyptic type of thinking quite overshadowed other types, inflaming the popular mind with unwholesome hopes. Still, as the older prophets so truly declared, God always had a "remnant," a group of choice, spiritually-minded, faithful souls, who longed, like the aged Simeon and Anna (Luke 2: 25-38), for the manifestation of the grace and redemptive power of God.

Within these centuries Judaism received a testing which was indeed a baptism of fire. The Persian empire gave way before the swift, resistless attack of the Grecian conqueror, Alexander the Great. The Jewish people became subjects of various Grecian powers. This brought Judaism as the characteristic expression of the Jewish mind and heart, into contrast, and, at last, into conflict with Hellenism as the embodied idealism and ambition of the aggressive Greeks. Out of this struggle emerged a stronger Judaism, improved in some respects, but stimulated in several unhealthy tendencies, which developed disadvantageously. The story of Judaism's struggles is fascinating. No one can understand the nation of our Lord's day with its bitter prejudices, its splendid ideals, its scorn of compromise, its inveterate pride, its responsiveness to Jesus individually and its absolute indifference, as a religious organization, to Him, unless he appreciates the varied forces at work within and upon the nation from the days of Ezra to those of the Herods. Except for the brief Maccabean period, its history must be told prosaically. Great personalities give way, not in reality, but apparently, to professional guilds and parties

and racial movements. Yet life was very active and well worth the living. Judaism grew steadily stronger and worthily performed her task of preserving for the world the spiritual treasures her noblest souls had discovered.

XVII

THE LAST SEVENTY YEARS OF PERSIAN RULE. 400 TO 337 B.C.

(Joel, Job, the Chronicler, and Some Psalms)

(456) From the days of Nehemiah to the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, a period of about a century in length, the affairs of Judea become obscure. Only indirect testimony is available concerning them. Nevertheless, certain facts seem sure. During these years the two sovereigns of greatest importance were Artaxerxes II (called Mnemon), who reigned over the Persian empire from 404 to 358 B.C., and his son, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), who reigned twenty-one years until 337 B.C. The last Persian king, Darius, was decisively defeated by Alexander at Arbela, in 331 B.C. The real rulers of the Judean community were the successive high priests Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan and Jaddua. The last mentioned was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Their autocracy was tempered by the written law, a fact which helps to explain its rapid attainment of unquestioned authority in the community life. Only twice do we know of any interference with the peace and prosperity of the little people. Josephus tells us that the high priest Johanan murdered his own brother, Joshua, in the very Temple court, whereupon the satrap of Syria inflicted a heavy fine upon the Jews. In the days of Ochus the Jews seem to have been drawn into a rebellion along with the Phoenicians. The great king took summary vengeance upon Jerusalem, and his representative forced an entrance into the sacred Temple, but the city was not destroyed.

The most important facts of the period were the gradual completion of the ceremonial code and of the Pentateuch, until, in all details, they became the group of books with which we are familiar today, and their

general recognition as sacred literature, establishing the first stage of the canonical growth of the Old Testament. The Jews of this period were gradually settling into those distinctive habits which they ever afterwards maintained. Nehemiah and the leaders of his day had to take note of the popular neglect of the Sabbath, but early in the Greek period, years afterward, King Ptolemy captured Jerusalem with ridiculous ease, because no Jew would take up arms on the Sabbath. Sabbath usages, the great festivals, the sacrificial system, the careful adjustment of daily living to ritual requirements, the elaboration of the laws respecting priests and Levites, the development of liturgical services, the recognition of an administrative or advisory group of priests and nobles — these were the interests of the period. We can see quite a difference between the average Jew of Nehemiah's day and the Jew of the early Greek age, as the latter is reflected in the Chronicler's writings and in current history. His energies centered to an extraordinary degree in the Temple and its interests. He supported cheerfully a relatively large number of Temple officers and ministrants. He rejoiced in the dignity and impressiveness of the regulated ceremonial. He bent himself quite seriously to the task of doing his individual share in its support. In course of the peaceful years the community grew in numbers and in resources, as well as in these institutional ways. The scribes increased in importance as rapidly as the priesthood. I Chron. 2:55 is an indication of their organization into guilds of some sort. They were held in high respect as the interpreters of the sacred Law.

1. JOEL'S INTERPRETATION OF LOCUST RAVAGES AS A MANIFESTATION OF DIVINE ALERTNESS AND A SUMMONS TO REPENTANCE

The Prophecy of Joel

[Superscription by the editor. Joel 1: 1.]

The unprecedented locust plague has caused widespread distress. 1: 2-12.

Summon the community to a penitential assembly because of the terrible visitation. 1: 13-20.

Sound the alarm: the irresistible locust army is led by Jehovah. 2: 1-11.

Even now a public repentance may avail to secure the Divine mercy. 2: 12-17.

Jehovah replies to the repentant people: The locusts shall perish and the land shall again rejoice. 2: 18-27.

On Jehovah's new Day the whole community shall have the prophetic gift and his true worshippers shall be secure. 2: 28-32.

The nations which have oppressed Judah shall be condemned by Jehovah to suffer a like fate at Judean hands. 3: 1-8.

Let these nations appear to meet their doom which will convince His people anew of His sanctity and power. 3: 9-17.

In contrast with their desolateness Judah shall be exceedingly prosperous and permanently Jehovah's abode. 3: 18-21.

(457) **The Book of Joel.** Joel is remarkable for its quotations from other prophetic writings — Amos, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Malachi and Obadiah. Some scholars regard these quotations as the insertions of an editor on the ground that they are less forceful than the passages which are directly attributable to Joel. He was more of a churchman than an old-time prophet. His poetical power was of the first order.

(458) **The Message of Joel.** It is clear that Joel spoke to the post-exilic community of the last Persian century, but before the days of Ochus. Religious interests dominate all others in his prophecy and center at the Temple. The people can all get together. Jehovah's discipline demands united prayer and fasting, a greater care in worship, as an expression of sincere repentance. These were the conditions of 400 B.C. Locust swarms unprecedented in number had visited Judah with destruction. The prophet interpreted this calamity as a summons to repentance. He calls a great penitential assembly. No finer descriptive passages than his graphic appeals for repentance are in the Old Testament. Jehovah responds with promises that blessings shall make up the dearth and that a new spirit, purifying and enlightening, shall possess the people. The prophet voices the attitude of his people toward the outside world quite clearly. On Jehovah's "Day" only his true worshippers (2: 32) will be secure. The sweeping judgment in the "valley of the Verdict" (3: 14) upon Judah's enemies, Phoenicia, Philistia, Egypt and Edom, will result in a Jerusalem from

which aliens are excluded (3: 17. Compare Isaiah 52: 1). This seems rather remote from Isaiah 49: 6.

2. THE SAMARITAN SCHISM AND ITS OUTCOME.

(Neh. 13: 28)

(459) There is some question regarding the date of the religious rupture between the Jewish community and the Samaritans. Josephus dates it in the high priesthood of Jaddua, the contemporary of Alexander, and many other facts tend to confirm his statement. Neh. 13: 28 gives the essential facts. A member of the high-priestly family of Judea married a daughter of Sanballat, the Samaritan chief, in express disobedience to the newly adopted Law, and was expelled from Judea. He is said to have taken with him a copy of the sacred Law and to have become the high priest of a new Temple which Sanballat built for him on Mount Gerizim. This Temple and its services were virtually duplicates of those at Jerusalem. The Pentateuch which he carried away became the whole Bible of the Samaritans, whereas the Jews, during the next two centuries or so (§§ 452, 494) recognized many more books, historical, prophetic, etc., as belonging to the Holy Scriptures. The two communities rapidly grew apart although they shared the same traditions and ideals. Their rivalry developed a bitter, mutual hatred, which, in course of time, grew beyond healing.

3. THE TWO LITERARY TRIUMPHS OF THE AGE: JOB AND THE CHRONICLER'S HISTORY.

(460) We should expect that many liturgical psalms would make their appearance at this time, and that proverbial collections would begin to take form. Psalms and proverbs became increasingly popular, and yet the two works which gave greatest lustre to the close of the Persian period were the masterpiece of Wisdom composition, the book of Job, and the second great production of ecclesi-

astical circles, the historical work of the Chronicler and his group, the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah.

(461) **The Book of Job.** The writer of the book of Job was a great poet as well as a sage. He gave the world of his day and ours a powerful study in dramatic form of the problem of the meaning of the suffering of good people. The Hebrews were tempted to think that goodness should guarantee health, wealth and happiness in this life (John 9:2). Such a view degraded religion by making it a bargain counter experience, and endangered it by encouraging good men and women to resent a calamity they could not understand. The problem came close home to loyal Israelites of the fourth century B.C. Although they seemed to be doing their best to live up to the standards approved by Jehovah, they found the coveted prosperity and glory little more than a dream. The author of the dramatic poem introduces Job as a man who had not consciously sinned and yet, for reasons hidden to him, was deprived of wealth, posterity and respect, and was afflicted with a loathsome disease. Naturally, he was perplexed, but submitted uncomplainingly to God's will (1:20-22; 2:10). The sympathy of his lifelong friends (2:11-13) broke down the reserve of his tortured soul, and led him to curse the day of his birth, and to ask why God should prolong his misery (3). This outcry shocked the friends who had come to comfort him. They felt that he had lost his religion. They undertook to bring him back to normal views of life and God. They remembered, however, that he had been a righteous man all his days, and began, very gently, a long discussion of his case, in three cycles of argument, in which each friend reveals an individuality of his own — Eliphaz being the dignified, thoughtful, ripened, slightly mystical student of life, Bildad a commonplace mind, satisfied by tradition, and Zophar a blunt, opinionated man. They really represent three natural and universal types of mind and approaches to truth. When Job refuted their assertions, which became very critical, he had traversed the customary arguments of men with reference to suffering.

The Book of Job

Prologue, presenting Job as a truly religious man who is given by Divine permission, unknown to himself, a crucial test of his disinterestedness. 1, 2.

His bitter outcry, "Why am I so overwhelmed by misfortune? 3.

First Cycle of Discussion. Job 4-14

Discourse of Eliphaz: Be not overwhelmed; no one can be absolutely righteous; submit to God's discipline. 4, 5.

Job's reply: My afflictions are crushing; you friends afford me no solace; God seems to persecute and spy upon me. 6, 7.

Discourse of Bildad: All wise men say that God deals impartially and discriminately with men, punishing sinners and blessing the good. 8.

Job's reply: No finite man can plead his cause before the infinite God; Oh for some sort of an umpire; God seems to me pitiless and unreachable. 9, 10.

Discourse of Zophar: God is omniscient; no guilt can escape His eye; repent and win His favor. 11.

Job's reply: Of course, God is wise and powerful, but seemingly He acts as He chooses; you are not really facing the issue; if I only could present my case to Him! but this seems vain.

Second Cycle of Discussion. Job 15-21

Discourse of Eliphaz: Are you then omniscient as well as rebellious? No man is sinless. Mark what happens to the ungodly. 15.

Job's reply: Strange comforters you are; God seems to be attacking me, yet surely there is for me a heavenly advocate! 16, 17.

Discourse of Bildad: Is the world to be upset on your behalf? The unrighteous are sure to be overtaken by disaster. 18.

Job's reply: Lonely I am, forsaken by all, apparently abandoned by God, yet I shall, after death, have a heavenly Vindicator and a vision of God as He is. 19.

Discourse of Zophar: Empty talk! the prosperity of the wicked is brief at best. 20.

Job's reply: I challenge your facts; the godless often are prosperous; adequate punishment is not meted out; men's fortunes are much alike; so travelers report. 21.

Third Cycle of Discussion. Job 22-31

Discourse of Eliphaz: God has brought these afflictions upon you, hence you must have sinned grievously. Repent and be blessed. 22.

Job's reply: If I could find God He would surely listen; but His ways are inscrutable. He seems to permit injustice and wickedness. 23, 24.

Discourse of Bildad: No man can be perfect in God's sight. 25; 26: 5-14.

Job's reply: How inspired you are! Of course God is omnipotent, yet I know that I am innocent. 26: 1-4; 27: 1-6, 11, 12.

Discourse of Zophar: The godless man has a pitiable fate. He gets his just deserts from God. 27: 7-10, 13-23.

[An inserted poem. The Divine Wisdom that controls the universe is incomprehensible. 28.]

Job's final statement: Once I was happy, honored, helpful; now everyone derides me; even God seems to persecute me! Yet of secret desire, or covetousness or adultery or the abuse of power or idolatry or hypocrisy, I am innocent. I am ready to face the Almighty! 29-31.

The Discourses of Elihu. Job 32-37

I must speak my mind; I am bursting with arguments. 32.

God often speaks to men through dreams and on beds of pain, showing them their sins. 33.

God is just as well as powerful, let Him deal with you in His own way. 34.

Human righteousness does not profit God or injure Him. He does not heed an idle cry like Job's. 35.

The justice of His rule is revealed in human history and in the natural world; we cannot criticize Him. 36, 37.

The Voice of Jehovah Out of the Storm. Job 38-42: 6

God is revealed in the mighty works of creation. 38: 2-7.

He is nature's ruler. 38: 8-38.

He creates and controls the animal creation. 38: 39 to 39: 30.

[His masterpiece is the hippopotamus; the monarch of all creatures is the crocodile. 40: 15 to 41: 34.]

Can you then govern this world, O Job, or understand the ways of God's government? 40: 1, 2, 6-14.

Job's Submission

I humble myself; I spoke in ignorance; I see Thee and it is enough. 40: 3-5; 42: 1-6.

Epilogue, rebuking Job's friends, and declaring his restoration and long happiness. 42: 7-17.

The main solution of the general problem of suffering reached or suggested by the book is a religious, not a philosophical solution. It was the sense which Job gained of God's friendly presence, that brought healing and blessedness to his soul. However true it may be that suffering is disciplinary, developing character, as Eliphaz and Elihu argued, the real lesson is that the man whose faith is deep and strong can endure misfortune bravely and wins something infinitely better than wealth or children or freedom from pain or anxiety. He finds in God a friend.

The finest element in this marvellous study of the human soul is the growth of Job's own spiritual self. From accusing God of being a sort of malevolent spy on mankind (7: 11-21) and wishing that at least after death some vindication might come to him (14: 13-15), he declares that there is surely a heavenly witness (16: 18-21) and, finally, attains to the assurance that after death he will not only have a vindicator, but will have a sight of God (19: 25, 26).

The prologue and epilogue very evidently represent the original prose story of Job. It taught that when a truly religious man falls into misfortune through Satan's malice, if he is submissive and patient, God will in the end reward him richly. The author of the drama poem, taking this prose story as a setting which brought the problem of suffering into relief, lets the friends represent the current solutions of the problem but sets himself through Job to reach a truer solution. He finds it in a conviction of God's goodness and justice and a willingness to abide by whatever comes from Him.

(462) **The Chronicler's History of Judah.** One who thinks back to the days of the two kingdoms can readily appreciate the motives which would have moved a group of priests or scribes of the fourth century B.C. to rewrite the history covered by the books of Samuel and Kings, so far as it applied to Judah or the Temple. The Judea of the fourth century lived in another world than the Judah of 1000 B.C. The Chronicler attributed the absence in the prophetic histories of the ecclesiastical details, so important in his own day, to a lack of interest on the part of the prophetic historians and proceeded to study the days of David, Jehoshaphat, Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah afresh, and to bring out the facts as he saw them. Necessarily, his picture of the pre-exilic age was considerably idealized. His account of the ceremonies on great occasions (II Chron. 29, 31, 35) throws more light upon the usages of his own day than upon those of the earlier centuries. Supposing that the Law had been given by Moses in its entirety as he knew it, he felt bound to reconstruct the historical records in Samuel and Kings to harmonize with its teachings. He added all sorts of ritual details, especially those in which the Levites were concerned, contributed many edifying comments on historical stories (I Chron. 10: 13, 14), filled in gaps with details that are clearly unhistorical (compare I Kings 15: 3a with II Chron. 13: 1-21) and quite certainly exaggerated (I Chron. 22: 14; II Chron. 17: 14-19). But, like the writer of P, he contributed what in his day was deemed

a proper emphasis upon Israel's institutional life. Although as a historian of the past, the Chronicler's statements must be used with caution, his deep moral earnestness and unswerving loyalty to the best traditions of his people give a value to his writings all their own.

Professor Fowler* calls attention to the three eras of historical writing in Israel: (1) during the three centuries from 950-650 B.C., when writers pictured human experience in charming, simple, natural narratives, forming the substance of the prophetic histories; (2) during the age of Deuteronomic influence from 650-450 B.C., when the religious interpretation of those narratives of experience created the historical works of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which emphasize the active presence of God and burn with moral conviction; (3) from the days of Judaism onward, when these writings were reinterpreted and made to exhibit the orderly development of Israel's ceremonial religion. We may be very thankful for each type of history. A great and permanent aspect of religion is behind each one.

XVIII

ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S CONQUEST OF ASIA AND INTRODUCTION OF AGGRESSIVE HELLENISM. 332-168 B.C.

(Jonah; Isaiah 24-27; Zechariah 9-14; The Song of Songs; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; Ecclesiasticus; Daniel 2, 7, 8, 11)

(463) Historians have often pointed out the dramatic suddenness with which Alexander the Great converted the Persian empire into a Hellenic dominion. The writer of the book of Daniel described him (8:5, 21) as the he-goat leaping out of the west so swiftly that he scarcely seemed to touch the ground at all. His military exploits have remained for centuries one of the wonders of the world. But the great Macedonian conqueror began with this invasion a greater conquest, the significance of which has not been so clearly seen. He was the enthusiastic champion of Hellenism, and dreamed of making it the

* *The Literature of Ancient Israel*, 307f.

dominant force in the world of his day. His motives were, no doubt, mixed, partly selfish, at least racially so, and partly altruistic. Conscious of a civilization far superior to that of the rest of the world, he desired to establish it everywhere. His own career was too brief for the completion of such a colossal ambition as this, but his successors cherished and furthered it in their less effective way. Neither barbarism nor the semi-civilization of the Persians could withstand the attacks of Hellenism. It soon dominated most of the Asiatic world as far east as the Indies.* In Judaism, however, this pan-Hellenic movement found a worthy and persistent foe, desirous of avoiding a needless conflict, but determined to maintain its own identity and vitality. The story of the Greek dominance over Judea and the Jewish people wherever they were living is that of a century and a half of submission politically, but of slow and steady consolidation and concentration religiously. Judaism may not have been aware of a coming conflict, but she was being strengthened for it. Her multiform activity was all of a character to intensify and strengthen the loyalty of the Jewish people to their distinctive institutions and their ancient ideals.

For the history of this Greek period the chief Jewish sources of information are Daniel 7-12, Ecclesiasticus, I Maccabees 1, II Maccabees 1-7, and, most definitely, the writings of Josephus, who mingles tradition and fact in his "Antiquities" and evidently aims to glorify his people, but after all affords a true perspective. He says but little about the Greek period, and must be supplemented by the Greek historians, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian, who, however, dwell chiefly on data of interest to a Greek.

* For the extent of Alexander's dominions see the comparative map facing page 238 and the larger map of Asia facing page 250.

1. ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S VAST AND VARIED AMBITIONS AND THEIR OUTCOME.

(464) **Alexander the Great, and his Campaigns. (334-323 B.C.)** Alexander was a marvel alike for his skill in war and for his statesmanship. Inheriting from his father, Philip, in 336 B.C., the control of Thrace and Thessaly, the headship of Greece, an annual revenue of one thousand talents, and the dream of a pan-Hellenic empire, Alexander speedily established himself as the recognized leader of the Greek armies against the Persians. Early in 334 B.C. he crossed with a small army of skilled veterans into Asia. The battle of Granicus in that year made him master of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor; the battle of Issus a year later opened the way to Syria and Egypt, the siege and capture of Tyre in July, 332 B.C., and the founding of Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile in the same year; the battle of Arbela, October 1, 331 B.C., gave him the control of the Asiatic world. Within three years he had established his authority to the boundary of India. In three years more, by the summer of 325 B.C., he had compelled submission to his authority as far as the river Indus. Two years later, in June, 323 B.C., he died in the midst of plans for the hellenization of Asia and the unification of the world. His tolerance, enthusiasm, insight and ambition made him the creator of a new type of empire, one which should enlist all the virtues and powers of Asiatic kingdoms, but organize them into a new social unity and infuse them with the Hellenic spirit.

Before Alexander's day the Greeks came into little touch, except in Egypt, with the Jews. The traditions, recounted by Josephus, of Alexander's visit to the Temple, where he worshipped, and of the special privileges which he granted to the Jews, are rather questionable. Quite probably, however, some Jews were of service to him, and with equal probability, the Greek scholars who followed in his train found the Jews the most interesting and sympathetic of all the peoples they met.

(465) **Hellenism versus Judaism.** Under Alexander and his successors the Jews were welcomed at Alexandria as valuable citizens. In the northeastern quarter of that wonderful city the Jews lived together as a great community under their own laws and leaders, just as in Palestine. Here they grew wealthy, influential and liberally minded. The culture of Greece met Hebrew faith at Alexandria on even terms. The immediate effect of Alexander's conquest of Asia was, therefore, beneficial to the Jews. Alexandria quickly supplanted Babylon, Susa and every other city as a foreign home for Jews. The Jews in Alexandria surpassed in numbers, as in wealth or breadth of mind, their brethren in Palestine.

In Alexandria or other great commercial centers the natural conflict between Hellenic culture, ideas and institutions and those of Judaism did not become acute, because the Jews kept their business life and their private, social or religious life distinct. On the soil of Palestine the situation was different. The two types of life were bound to clash. Hellenism was a social movement, kindling patriotism, inspiring decadent peoples to a higher and broader type of life, preaching the brilliant, joyous, virile, artistic use of ability and strength. Judaism was a religious faith, sturdy, serious, believing in moral ideals and issues, and cultivating holiness. To a Jew a Greek seemed light-minded, unmoral, often godless; to a Greek a Jew seemed intolerant, narrow and stupid, concerned with trifles. The greatest difference was that the Greek ideal was at heart a selfish one; the Hebrew ideal was at heart sacrificial. Each, however, needed the other.

(466) **The Century-long Struggle between Alexander's Two Principal Successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, over the Possession of Palestine. (301-198 B.C.)** When Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C., his empire was soon partitioned between his generals. Their fortunes varied during the next two decades, but at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C., western Asia was virtually divided between Ptolemy, who took Egypt, and

Seleucus, who ruled the rest of Asia.* Palestine, lying just between Egypt and Syria, was awarded to Ptolemy, who, with his successors, managed to hold it for upwards of a century. Alexandria became the center of the outside world to Judea. The Jews were happy and prosperous under the mild rule of the Ptolemies, Jerusalem prospered, and the distinctive developments of Judaism were emphasized. Judaism had a chance to "get set."

Alexander the Great, 336-323

Ptolemies of Egypt

Ptolemy I, Soter, 323-285
 Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, 285-247
 Ptolemy III, Euergetes, 247-222
 Ptolemy IV, Philopator, 222-205
 Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, 205-182
 Ptolemy VI, VII, 182-146
 Egypt annexed by Rome, 30 B.C.

Seleucids of Syria

Seleucus I, 312-279
 Antiochus I, Soter, 279-261
 Antiochus II, Theos, 261-246
 Seleucus II, Callinicus, 246-226
 Seleucus III, Ceraunos, 226-223
 Antiochus III, the Great, 223-187
 Seleucus IV, Philopator, 187-176
 Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 176-164
 Syria annexed by Rome, 63 B.C.

The Seleucids of Syria coveted the control of Palestine. This was natural, since Palestine is really a physical part of Syria. Moreover, in the forests of the Lebanon was timber of great value and through the plains and passes of Palestine flowed the steady stream of southern commerce. Most of all, Palestine was the eastern gateway to Egypt. They warred with Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes, but without avail. Finally Antiochus III, the Great, found himself opposed by Ptolemy IV, whom he despised. He overran Palestine in 218 B.C., but was badly defeated the next year at Raphia and forced to retreat. When Ptolemy V, Epiphanes came to the throne, a mere child, Antiochus had become a famous conqueror. He again invaded Palestine and, after one reverse, drove out the Egyptians and assumed control in 198 B.C. The Jews were losers rather than gainers by the change. Their new masters were not as easy-going and tolerant as the Ptolemies had been.

* For western Asia after the battle of Ipsus, see the map facing page 238.

(467) **The Check Administered to Antiochus III by the Romans.** Having taken Palestine from Egypt, Antiochus the Great was intending to add Egypt to his extensive dominions, but he was forbidden by the Romans, who had no desire to see all Asia under one ruler. He vowed to drive them out of the Greek world, but at Thermopylae in 191 B.C., and at Magnesia in 190, he was crushingly defeated, forced to yield all Asia Minor north of the Taurus Mountains, and to pay fifteen thousand talents. While plundering a temple to get the money to pay this fine he lost his life.

2. THE CULTURAL VALUE OF HELLENISM TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

(468) **The Sages of Israel and their Writings.** During this century the learned men of Judea belonged predominantly to one of two groups, the scribes and the sages. The scribal profession was highly regarded. Its members were the interpreters, teachers and guardians of the Law. To it could aspire any able youth; in it he found a real career. The scribes of this age were liberal of mind, keen and truly studious. More or less closely related to them were the wise men, another influential class in the community, distinguishable chiefly by the object of their efforts as scholars and teachers. Jer. 18: 18 bears witness to the existence of these sages in earlier days. They even go back as far as David's time. (II Sam. 14: 2.)

The Greek period was a harvest time of Hebrew wisdom. It found then its ripest expression and its opportunity for publication. To this period may be ascribed with considerable confidence the completion and issue of the Proverb collections, many of the reflective psalms, and the book of Ecclesiastes, together with the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus.

The wisdom psalms are those which deal with the moral order of the universe, such as Psalms 73 and 49 and 37, or with Divine providence, such as Psalms 90 and 1, or 121 and 112. They express the point of view of wisdom more by flashes of insight than by any sustained

argument. Their answer to the anomalies of the world is the existence and power of Almighty God.

(469) **The Book of Proverbs.** The book of Proverbs is a collection of collections and represents at least six centuries of history. It is the most representative specimen of the wisdom literature of the Bible, repeating the practical everyday wisdom of good men. How much of it in the form familiar to us was actually put into written form before the exile is problematical. Solomon may well have been a framer of proverbs, but the book as a whole has been ascribed to him because of the prestige of his name.

The Book of Proverbs*

Editorial title to the book. 1: 1.

Preface: the aims the Hebrew sages sought to realize. 1: 2-6.

A text for the section that follows. 1: 7.

Prologue to the book: "The Praise of Wisdom": her value, characteristics, place in the universe, contrast with Folly and the rewards of persistently seeking for her. 1: 8 to 9: 18.

First and oldest collection: "Proverbs of Solomon," 375 maxims dealing with social evils. 10: 1 to 22: 16.

Second collection: "Words of the Wise," a supplement to the preceding. 22: 17 to 24: 22.

Third collection: "More words of the Wise." 24: 23-34.

Fourth collection: Solomon's proverbs transcribed by Hezekiah's scribes. 25-29.

First appendix: "The Sayings of Agur," a series of numerical aphorisms. 30.

Second appendix: "The Sayings of Lemuel." 31: 1-9.

Third appendix: "The Ideal Wife." 31: 10-31.

Evidently Proverbs is a library in itself. The section containing the oldest proverbs is probably 10: 1 to 22: 16. The choicest group is 25-29. The preface (1: 2-6) states the values imparted by proverbs: understanding, insight, training in right conduct, ability to appropriate and to use the wisdom of teachers. It was a practical aim, the development of prudent, clear-minded, efficient social units. It is a pathway of expediency, yet morally and spiritually sound, wholesome and helpful.

* For a classified study of Proverbs by themes see "Proverbs and Didactic Poems" by Kent and Burrows in the *Student's Old Testament* series.

(470) **The Book of Ecclesiasticus.** The apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach was written at some date between 200 and 175 B.C. It was recognized as a part of the Old Testament by the Alexandrian Jews (§ 11) and is regularly used in the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches today. It is a fine book, a natural sequel to Proverbs, in the main a series of brief essays in practical ethics, adapted for instruction in conduct. Oesterley terms it "the kind of textbook to which men and women might have recourse for guidance in almost every conceivable circumstance of life." Its author, a professed student and teacher of wisdom and a lecturer on jurisprudence and ethics, an orthodox Jew, enables us to realize how such a cultured, reverent man looked at the current questions of that day.

The Book of Ecclesiasticus

Prologue.

First Collection: Wisdom and its practice. 1: 1 to 16: 23.

Wisdom's origin, nature and manifestations in piety and character.

1: 1 to 4: 10.

How wisdom works out in everyday righteousness. 4: 11 to 6: 17.

The rewards and obligations of its practice. 6: 18 to 8: 7.

Rules of conduct toward many classes of persons. 8: 8 to 10: 29.

Warnings under various contingencies. 10: 30 to 14: 19.

A man's responsibility for shaping his life. 14: 20 to 16: 23.

Second Collection: Wisdom as exhibited in character. 16: 24 to 23: 38.

Wisdom as revealed in the work of creation (cf. Prov. 8). 16: 24-30.

The cultivation of right relations with God. 17: 1 to 18: 29.

Against garrulity, a critical spirit, craftiness and deliberate sin. 18: 30 to 20: 26.

The godly wise man versus the godless fool. 20: 27 to 23: 27.

Third Collection: Wisdom in everyday life. 24: 1 to 33: 31.

A poem: Wisdom is honored in heaven and on earth. 24.

How the practice of wisdom illumines and blesses life. 25: 1 to 27: 3.

Against treachery, insincerity, the spirit of vengeance, the habit of quarreling or of lending. 27: 4 to 29: 28.

Advice on the training of children, the maintenance of health and one's behavior. 30: 1 to 33: 31.

Fourth Collection: Wisdom in religious and social relationships. 34: 1 to 43: 33.

Dreams, sacrifices and prayer. 34: 1 to 36: 16.

Precepts for social life. 36: 18 to 39: 11.

A hymn: the all-wise Divine government of the world. 39: 12-35.

The fear of the Lord the best thing in life. 40: 1 to 41: 13.

Moral duties. 41: 14 to 42: 14.

Praise of the Lord of all nature. 42: 15 to 43: 33.

Fifth Collection: Praise of Israel's great and godly men. 44: 1 to 50: 29.

Appendix. 51.

A hymn of thanksgiving. 51: 1-12.

A poem telling how Ben-Sirach found wisdom. 51: 13-30.

Ecclesiasticus deeply influenced later Jewish and Christian thought. It represents the finest element in Judaism. Ben-Sirach was a great souled teacher. His writings ought to be more familiar to everyone.

(471) **The Book of Ecclesiastes.** To this same period (about 200 B.C.) must be attributed the book of Ecclesiastes, one of the strangest books in the Old Testament. The writer called himself Koheleth, which means a debater or lecturer or collector of sentences. His question was, wherein is the value of living? What is its wage, its profit? He made a study of values and detailed his search for a satisfying object of effort in life, and its failure. Coming to the conclusion that life was a hopeless round, with nothing left over for a future life, he declared that it should be enjoyed and used to the full in the present time, everyone making the best of it and taking the joy of the day's work as the day goes.

The Book of Ecclesiastes

[Editorial title. 1: 1.]

Introduction: Existence is a meaningless, hopeless round. 1: 2-11.

Koheleth's vain search for happiness through the pursuit of wisdom, pleasure, the study of human nature or wealth. 1: 12 to 2: 26.

Man's helplessness under God's fixed ordering of the universe. 3: 1-15.

Man's lot no better than that of the beast. 3: 16-22.

Human life full of oppression, jealousy, isolation, lack of comradeship and the loss of popularity. 4.

Against perfunctoriness and cheating in religion and oversensitiveness to injustice. 5: 1-9.

The folly of expecting more than passing enjoyment from wealth. 5: 10-20.

The rich man's cherished desires may remain unfulfilled. 6: 1-9.

The fixedness of man's situation. 6: 10-12.

Proverbs and reflections regarding what is good for man in life. 7: 1-14.

Perfection undesirable and non-existent. 7: 15-29.

The right attitude toward kings. 8: 2-9; 10: 4-7, 16, 17, 20.

The righteous and the wicked fare alike. 8: 10, 14-15.

The wisest quest does not explain life's riddles by Divine love and justice. 8: 16 to 9: 16.

[Experience crystallized in proverbs. 9: 17 to 10: 3, 8-15.]

Making the most of life and youth. 11: 1 to 12: 8.

Epilogue in praise of Koheleth by an editor. 12: 9-12.

Koheleth was of the Sadducean type. Ben-Sirach fortunately took a more wholesome view of life. It is generally agreed that Koheleth's original composition was pessimistic, so much so that a later editor interpolated certain counter ideas. The context usually indicates that they are interpolations, *e.g.*, 2: 26; 3: 17; 7: 18b, 19, 26b; 8: 11-13; 11: 9b; 12: 1a, 13, 14. The value of the book, as Kent well said, lies in its frank presentation of the inevitable results of cherishing a merely materialistic, selfish philosophy of life.

(472) **Two Prophetic Apocalypses: Isaiah 24-27 and Zech. 9-14.** Two final prophetic sections seem to belong to this age. The first is Isaiah 24-27, a unique, apocalyptic description of the Day of Jehovah, which may belong to the days of Alexander's victories, interspersed with a series of beautiful songs of rejoicing.

Isaiah 24-27

The Apocalypse

A world-wide judgment upon sin is coming. 24.

Then He will feast the world on Mt. Zion and do away with mourning and shame. 25: 6-8.

Let Jehovah's people take shelter, for He is ready for the judgment. 26: 20 to 27: 1.

Israel's castaways shall return. 27: 12, 13.

Songs of Praise by the Redeemed Community

For Jehovah's great and sweeping deliverance. 25: 1-5.

For Moab's thoroughgoing destruction. 25: 9-12.

Impregnable Jerusalem shall welcome Jehovah's own righteous ones, even those who have died. 26: 1-19.

Israel shall be Jehovah's cherished vineyard. 27: 2-6.

Truly penitent Israel shall be pardoned. 27: 7-11.

These chapters are distinctly apocalyptic. 26: 19 is the earliest reference to a resurrection in the Old Testament. Daniel 12: 2 is later.

The other section is Zechariah 9-14. One who reads carefully the whole book of Zechariah cannot fail to notice the marked difference between the sobriety, the symbolism and the general setting of Zechariah 1-8 (see § 409) and the bitterness, narrowness and extravagance of Zechariah 9-14. Moreover, the world power of these

six chapters is Greece, not Persia. These six chapters separate into two well-defined sections.

Zechariah 9-14

A Divine judgment is about to fall on Israel's neighbors. 9: 1-8.

Jerusalem will welcome its king. 9: 9, 10.

Exiles will return. 9: 11-13; 10: 8-12.

Jehovah will destroy the Greeks. 9: 14-17.

In the direst straits Jehovah can save. 10: 1, 2.

His timid people can become bold warriors. 10: 3-7.

Heathen powers find their strongholds no longer adequate to protect them. 11: 1-3.

The good shepherd and his evil successor. 11: 4-17; 13: 7-9.

[Editorial heading. 12: 1.]

The siege of Jerusalem by the nations shall result in their destruction and the absolute security of her inhabitants. 12: 2-14.

All idolatry and impurity shall be abolished and all who trade professionally on credulity. 13: 1-6.

The great struggle on Jehovah's Day and its outcome. 14.

Whether the background of these apocalypses is Macabean or Greek is not easily determined. The Jewish religious thinkers seem more and more reliant for the fulfilment of national hopes upon some great catastrophic visitation of the world by Almighty God.

(473) **The Lyric Poetry of the Age.** As Fowler has pointed out, the Song of Songs was fortunately preserved in the Bible to give us an idea of what the love songs of the people of Judah were like. It is not, strictly speaking, a love drama nor a mere collection of folk songs sung at a wedding, nor, indeed, an allegory representing the love of God and Israel. It is a lyrical glorification of true and tender love that is faithful in spite of the proffer of worldly splendor. For a western mind it presents difficulties of interpretation that an easterner does not feel. "Its theme—the purity, sweetness and glory of love—is an everlasting one" (Jordan).

The Song of Songs

[Superscription by the editor. 1: 1]

The bride's declaration of her love and longing. 1: 2-8.

The mutual admiration of the lover and his bride. 1: 9 to 2: 7.

Her reminiscences of a recent visit from him. 2: 8 to 3: 5.

The bridegroom's approach (for his wedding) and his address to his bride. 3: 6 to 5: 1.

Her impassioned description of her beloved one. 5: 2 to 6: 3.

Praise of the bride and her avowal of her love. 6: 4 to 8: 4.

Their arrival at their home, her oath of fidelity and purity and declaration of her contentment with her humble lot. 8: 5-14.

During this age many psalms were added to the growing collections. Probably Psalms 1-89 may be thought of as already grouped together. A fresh group of lyrics originating in the Greek age is the Pilgrim Psalms (120-134). They are very choice and stirring. Another group, equally remarkable, is the Hallel or Praise collection. They are scattered between Psalm 104 and Psalm 150.

(474) **A Prophetic Story of God's Love for Human-kind: the Book of Jonah.** To this age must probably be also credited one of the finest and most misunderstood portions of the Old Testament, the story of Jonah. It is not a bit of history, but, like the Good Samaritan, a story with a moral. Jonah represented the Jewish people. They had a message for the world, but were reluctant to deliver it. In their blind prejudice against non-Israelites whom they regarded as fit for destruction only they were forgetting that the love of God covers the whole world, and that He longs for it to repent and turn to Him (4: 2). The story is perfectly told; every phrase tells. The point of the story, as in all artistic tales, is at the very end.

The Book of Jonah

Jonah vainly tries to evade the mission to which God appointed him. 1: 1-2: 10.

The people of Nineveh repent at his preaching and are forgiven. 3.

The unhappy intolerance of the prophet God rebukes by declaring His unlimited love for the repentant world. 4.

(475) **The Varied Activities of Jewish Minds.** The preceding paragraphs illustrate the vigor, value and variety of Jewish thinking in this first century of contact with Hellenic civilization. There were men of God with a deep and true insight into God's purposes, such as the author of the book of Jonah, and with deeply reverent hearts like the writers of Psalms 121 or 125. There were intolerant nationalists such as the author of Zechariah 14. There were strict legalists like the writer of the story

about Daniel and his three companions in Daniel 1. These rejoiced in the scrupulous keeping of the letter of the Law. There were scribes who took pride in the record of the institutional development of the nation, and wise men who pondered over the life problems which Divine ideals raised. A stimulating freedom of thought prevailed along with a deep and earnest piety.

3. THE PAN-HELLENIC AMBITION OF ANTIOCHUS

(476) **The Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes in 176 B.C. to the Throne of Syria: His Great Ambition.** The grandson of Antiochus the Great, Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), inherited the ambition of his grandfather to teach the Romans a lesson. He planned to organize a pan-Hellenic confederation which should unite all Greek-speaking Asia and Africa against Rome.* In regard to the means and methods by which this goal should be reached he was wholly unscrupulous. He was ready to make any sacrifice or to commit any crime which would further his ambition. Moreover, his natural extravagance and love of luxury caused him to be always needing money.

Antiochus developed during the first few years of his reign a hatred for the Jews of Judea, which led him to resolve at all costs to compel them to hellenize. He had planned to add Egypt with its resources to his dominions as a first step in the execution of his anti-Roman policy. The reigning Ptolemy was young and weak. Just as Antiochus was on the brink of success, Rome intervened and compelled him to relinquish his prize. This check made Antiochus a madman. At this inopportune moment he heard that Jerusalem was in revolt against him. He not only looted the Temple and slew many citizens, but conceived a deadly dislike to the Jews as a race. He realized that they would stand out against his policy of hellenization, and set himself with every resource to crush their resolution.

* For western Asia in the days of Antiochus, see the map facing page 318.

(477) **His Relentless Policy of Hellenization from 169 to 167 B.C.** The measures of Antiochus were vigorous and sweeping. The defenses of Jerusalem were broken down; a garrison of Syrian soldiers was settled in the fortress on the rock which commanded the lower city; the Temple was deliberately desecrated; the reading or ownership of copies of the sacred Law was forbidden, and every copy obtainable was destroyed; the observance of the Sabbath, synagogue worship and the practice of circumcision were forbidden on pain of death; and sacrifice to Olympian Zeus was made a regular duty. He "waxed great toward the Glory (Holy Land)" (Dan. 8:9). Apparently Judaism was doomed in its own home.

XIX

THE SUCCESSFUL UPRISING OF THE JEWS UNDER MACCABEAN LEADERSHIP. 167-143 B.C.

(I and II Maccabees, Daniel, Enoch, Tobit, Esther,
the completed Psalter.)

Seleucids of Syria

Antiochus Epiphanes, 176-164
Antiochus Eupator, 164-158
Demetrius I, 158-150
Alexander Balas, 150-145
Demetrius II, 145-140
Antiochus Sidetes, 140-129
Entire Jewish freedom attained, 129

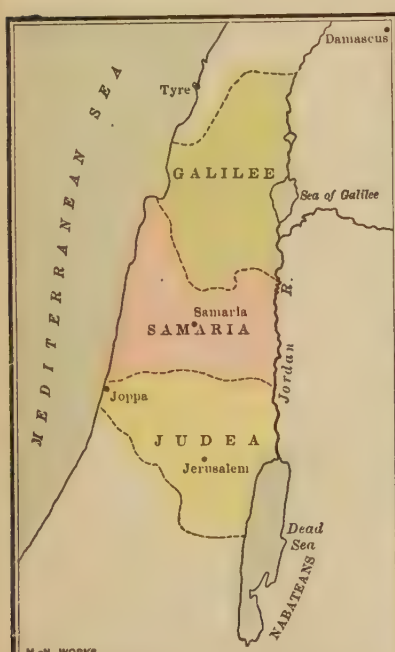
Hasmonean (Maccabean) Rulers

Mattathias
Judas Maccabaeus, 166-161
Jonathan, 161-142
Simon, 142-135
John Hyrcanus, 135-106
Aristobulus I, 105-104
Alexander Jannaeus, 104-78
Alexandra, 78-69
Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, 69-63
The kingdom annexed to Rome, 63

(478) The exactions of Antiochus were just what was needed to draw out the dauntless spirit of the Hebrew people. They were overwhelmed and paralyzed at first, but not for long. The very moment of the triumph of Antiochus was the beginning of his downfall. Religion was a matter of small moment to him, but to the Judeans it was infinitely precious, more so than life. Antiochus had sacked and burnt the city of Jerusalem; he had murdered thousands of the inhabitants; he had settled in Jerusalem many Greeks and apostate Jews; he had



Western Asia in the time of ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, 176-164 B.C.



JUDEA under JUDAS and JONATHAN
164-142 B.C.



JUDEA under ALEXANDER JANNAEUS
104-78 B.C.

laid waste the Temple. None of these deeds paralleled in Jewish eyes the profanation of the sanctuary and the offering of sacrifices to Olympian Zeus on the altar of burnt offering. This was the "abomination that maketh desolate" (Dan. 11:31; 12:11; 9:27; compare 8:13), or, as Smith and Moffatt prefer to render it, the "appalling abomination." That act of sacrilege made clear the deliberate purpose of Antiochus to destroy Judaism, root and branch. It nerved the people to risk everything they had in resistance. The moment a real leader appeared there were plenty of loyal-hearted Jews to join his fortunes. A struggle commenced, which, while it seemed hopeless at the first, was desperate and unyielding. The Jews were fighting for the existence of everything they held most dear. Against such men, patriotic, devoted, well led, no ordinary methods would serve. They won their way by strategy, skill and good fortune until, in three years from the date of its pollution, the altar was rebuilt, the sacred fire was rekindled and the legal sacrifices resumed at the Temple. For twenty-two years more a Jewish garrison on the well-fortified Temple hill faced a Greek garrison in the citadel, or Akra, which was on the hill of Ophel, the old Davidic stronghold, less than a quarter of a mile away. This garrison could not be dislodged. It was a constant menace to the peace of Jerusalem and the freedom of Temple worship. During most of these years Jerusalem was not a safe political center for Judaism. The headquarters of the Hasmonean leaders and their little armies were at first in the field. During Jonathan's leadership he settled in Jerusalem. Unable to capture the citadel from the Greeks, Jonathan reared a great rampart, which isolated it and made it harmless. In 142 B.C. the starved garrison surrendered to his successor, Simon, and the Jews once more had entire control of their holy city and of their land.

For the story of this quarter century we turn to First and Second Maccabees, and to Josephus. The latter gives the background of the whole period in his writings; the former have the vivid interest of a first-hand, fairly de-

tailed narrative. First Maccabees is a fine, well-balanced, generally trustworthy history, written in a true religious spirit, well worthy of study. It was probably completed by 125 B.C., soon after Simon's reign. Second Maccabees is not a sequel, but supplements First Maccabees on many important points and often goes into fresh details. Second Maccabees is of value, if used with care; for, after the manner of Chronicles, it epitomizes a much larger history of the period by Jason of Cyrene and was evidently written, during the first century B.C., to combat the secularizing tendency of that period and to glorify the part which the Jews had taken more than a century before.

First Maccabees

The conquests of Alexander and the partition of his empire. 1: 1-9.

The cause of the Maccabean struggle. 1: 10-64.

Its beginnings under the lead of Mattathias. 2.

The leadership of Judas and the acquisition of religious liberty. 3: 1 to 9: 22.

Jonathan's leadership and the establishment of the Hasmonean high priesthood. 9: 23 to 12: 53.

The leadership of Simon. Independence secured. 13: 1 to 16: 20.

John Hyrcanus. 16: 20-24.

Second Maccabees

Two letters purporting to have been exchanged between the Jews of Palestine and those of Egypt. 1: 1 to 2: 18.

Preface by the epitomist explaining his method. 2: 19-32.

The heavenly discomfiture of Seleucus and Heliodorus, his chancellor, who tried to seize the Temple treasure. 3: 1-39.

The sordid intrigues of aspirants to the high priesthood. 3: 40 to 4: 50.

The profanation of the Temple under Antiochus Epiphanes. 5.

His attempt forcibly to hellenize all Jews. 6.

The martyrdom of a devoted family. 7.

The early successes of Judas Maccabaeus. 8.

The miserable death of Antiochus. 9.

The recapture of Jerusalem and the Temple purification. 10: 1-8.

Campaigns against Lysias which forced him to make peace. 10: 9 to 13: 26.

The campaign against Nicanor resulting in his death. 14: 1 to 15: 36.

Epilogue by the epitomist. 15: 37-39.

1. THE DESPERATE STRUGGLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF JUDAS.

(479) **The Raising of the Standard of Revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes by Mattathias, the Aged Priest of Modein, and his Five Sons. (167 B.C.)** With the support of the Greek party in Jerusalem, headed by the high priest Menelaus, a base, treacherous, venial tool of Antiochus, the measures of the Syrian despot seemed at first successful. Many Jews professed their allegiance to the heathen cult. But the utter godlessness of the whole procedure awakened the real patriots, who suffered unnamable tortures rather than hellenize. They fled to the desert and the mountains, determined to perish rather than apostatize. Meanwhile, the Syrians and their Jewish allies made a systematic search of all Judea, forcing each group of people to submit. At the village of Modein, some twenty miles northwest of Jerusalem, at the extreme corner of Judea, they found a priest named Mattathias, of the family of Hasmon, who with his five stalwart sons had retired thither to await the will of God. When offered rewards if he and his followers would peaceably comply with the commands of Antiochus, Mattathias not only refused to "forsake the law," but slew both a neighbor who stepped forward to make the detested sacrifice and the Syrian commissioner. His impulsive act inaugurated a new chapter in the history of the Hebrew race. Professor Kent aptly compared it in its far-reaching consequences to the slaying of the Egyptian by Moses (§ 103).

The five sons of Mattathias shared his principles and threw themselves into the conflict. Simon, the eldest, was wise and modest; Judas was an able strategist; Jonathan was crafty and diplomatic, but brave. Each contributed in his own way to the successes of the next quarter century. With their father and "all who were zealous for the covenant," they fled across the central mountain ridge to the fastnesses of the wilderness above

the Dead Sea (§ 140). Here the Syrian soldiers attacked them on a Sabbath, and slaughtered a thousand of them without mercy and with ease, because they would not defend themselves on that day. Soon after, however, the brave priest, his sons and those who rallied to his standard, came to a deliberate conclusion that God's will would be more obeyed and honored by fighting than by perishing. They began a warfare which yielded no advantage to their foes, and rapidly drew into their ranks the patriotic Jews.

(480) **Judas, the Warrior Son, Made Leader.** Within a year Mattathias died, appointing Judas the military leader and Simon as his trusted counsellor, urging them to avenge the wrongs of their people and give heed to the commands of the Law (I Mac. 2: 67, 68). Judas was courageous, devoted, patriotic and full of energy. As a strategist he excelled in discovering the enemy's weakness and making it the object of his attack. He gathered about him a fine set of soldiers, men inspired with intense religious zeal, like Cromwell's "Ironsides." He had to fight the trained soldiers of Syria led by experienced generals, outnumbering his army six to one, and often aided by hellenized Jews, who acted as spies; but, by his skill in the only kind of warfare they could not combat, he won victory after victory.

(481) **The Book of Daniel a Notable Factor in the Judaistic Uprising.** (About 166 B.C.) The visions of the book of Daniel describe with such growing accuracy the great world movements of the Babylonian, Persian and Greek periods, each vision culminating in a description of the persecuting rule of Antiochus Epiphanes (7: 25; 8: 11, 12; 11: 21-45), that the conclusion is natural that the book was a production of these strenuous years of warfare. (Notice also § 373.) The historical reviews turn into predictions of the death of Antiochus, the establishment of God's kingdom and the reward of the faithful. These predictions evidently antedate both the recovery of Jerusalem in 165 B.C., and the actual death of Antiochus in the far East in 164 B.C.

The Narratives of Human and Divine Faithfulness. Daniel 1, 3-6

1. How Daniel and his three companions were blessed because they were faithful to the Law. 1.
2. How Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who would not worship the golden image, were unhurt by the fiery furnace, protected by His angel. 3.
3. How Nebuchadrezzar, the mighty king, was punished for his pride and acknowledged the Most High. 4.
4. How Belshazzar was punished for his defiance of Jehovah by the sudden loss of his kingdom. 5.
5. How God preserved His servant Daniel even in the den of lions. 6.

Visions of World Empires and of the Heavenly Kingdom. Daniel 2, 7-12

1. The great image of gold, silver, brass, iron and clay, representing successive kingdoms to be finally replaced by God's eternal kingdom. 2.
2. The Four Great Beasts, the fourth an all-conquering kingdom (7: 23), whose final representative, the little horn (7: 8), shall persecute the righteous for three and one-half "times" (7: 25), only to be overcome in the end. 7.
3. The Ram and the He-Goat, the latter Alexander the Great (8: 21), whose distant successor, the "little horn" (8: 9, 23), did great damage to Jerusalem (8: 9, 11, 12, 24), but shall be eventually destroyed (8: 25), 8.
4. The Seventy Weeks of which the final week is disastrous to the holy city, the temple being defiled (9: 27) in the middle of it. 9.
5. The Greek kingdoms in Asia and their conflicts, concluding with the career of Antiochus (11: 21-39) and a prediction of his end (11 40-45). 10, 11.
6. The assurance that God through His angel will establish His glorious kingdom. 12.

These stories and visions were of supreme value in giving staying power to the resolute band of faithful Judeans. They declare the power of God, the transitoriness of earthly kingdoms, the certainty of the establishment of His glorious kingdom when martyrs and survivors alike will receive a great reward. The hope of immortality flashes out to illumine the future of the faithful (12: 2). Whenever the book of Daniel was written, it was a "tract for Maccabean times." Its obscurities are such as one would expect in a document of its character.

(482) **Enoch 83-90.** This portion of the book of Enoch contains two great visions, one dealing with the great world judgment in connection with the deluge; the other covering world history from the antediluvian era down to the setting up of a Messianic kingdom. Its predictions of Divine intervention, like those of the book of Daniel, brought a message of comfort and encouragement

to the persecuted people of the Maccabean struggle. It seems to belong to the days of Judas.

Enoch 83 to 90

The first vision of world judgment. 83, 84.

The second vision: world history to the end. 85 to 90.

The fall of the angels and advent of seven archangels. 86, 87.

The punishment of the former by the latter. 88.

The deluge and the deliverance of Noah. 89: 1-9.

From the days of Noah to the close of the era of the two kingdoms. 89: 10-67.

Four periods of foreign oppression. 89: 68 to 90: 12.

A final Gentile assault on Jerusalem. 90: 13-19.

The judgment of fallen angels, faithless rulers and apostates. 90: 20-27.

The new Jerusalem, the conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the resurrection of the righteous, the Messiah-lamb. 90: 28-42.

These chapters indicate the developing ideas regarding angelology, the Messianic hope and the Messiah among religiously-minded people of that day.

(483) **The Recovery of Jerusalem by Judas in 165 B.C., and the Rededication of the Temple.** Judas was a shrewd leader. He knew his own country well, and chose his battlegrounds where a few brave men could match an army, or where he could surprise his foes. He defeated in succession Apolonius, the Syrian governor of Samaria, Seron, the governor of southern Syria, whose large army was attacked while it was climbing the steep ascent of Bethhoron, and the three generals sent against him by Lysias, the regent of the Seleucid empire. Finally Lysias himself assembled a huge army which reached the Judean plateau from Philistia. Near Bethsur a great battle took place. Neither side won a decisive victory, but Lysias was forced to retire to Antioch.

Judas and his followers, heartened, enriched with Syrian spoil and jubilant, went at once to Jerusalem and gave themselves to the task of restoring the desecrated Temple after several years of Syrian control. He cleansed the sanctuary, tore down the altar of Zeus, built a new altar, refurnished the sanctuary and reestablished the regular order of worship. Its completion was marked by a day of great rejoicing and the initiation of an annual feast,

known as the Feast of Lights or Dedication, which is still kept by Jews.

2. LITERARY REFLECTIONS OF THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

(484) **The Books of Esther, Tobit and Judith.** The Jews at this time were full of hatred and contempt for a Gentile world which dealt so harshly with their interests. Many felt that the destruction of the heathen would be the only adequate vindication of God's justice. This vindictive spirit of the age is observable, not alone in the apocalypses, but in such a book as Esther. Racial prejudice overmasters religious fervor. The story of Esther exalts loyalty and depicts a fine character, yet it rejoices over precisely what Jonah condemned. A close reading shows that it could not have been written in the Persian age; its spirit of glorification seems to fit right into the stirring days of the Maccabean contest.

The Book of Esther

Xerxes' royal feast: Vashti's refusal to exhibit her loveliness and her consequent deposition. 1.

The choice of Esther, a Jewish maiden, as queen. 2.

Haman, to avenge a slight by Mordecai, Esther's uncle, persuades the king to order a massacre of the Jews all over the Persian empire. 3.

Mordecai learns of this decree and overcomes Esther's reluctance to intercede with the king. 4.

Esther obtains the king's favor, invites him with Haman to a banquet; meanwhile Haman erects a gallows for Mordecai. 5.

Haman compelled to show public honor to Mordecai. 6.

Esther at the banquet accuses Haman and he is hanged on the gallows he erected for Mordecai. 7.

The king, at Esther's request, empowers the Jews to resist the execution of the former decree. 8.

The success of the Jews against their enemies leads to the institution of the Purim feast. 9.

Conclusion. 10: 1-3.

As literature the book of Esther takes high rank. The story is wrought out skilfully and with a fine sense of dramatic values.

Much like Esther is the heroine of the book of Judith, who risked her honor in order to rid her country of a tyrant, and inspired her people to rout their enemies.

The Book of Judith

The subject peoples of Syria-Palestine refuse to send soldiers to assist Nebuchadrezzar against Media. 1.

Holofernes, his general, commissioned to punish them. 2.

Some nations submit, but the Hebrews prepare for defense. 3, 4.

Despite the warnings of Achior, the Ammonite, Holofernes leads his army to Bethulia and invests it, so that its defenders are greatly distressed. 5-7.

Judith, a devout Jewish widow, beautiful and wise, offers to effect deliverance. 8.

Her prayer that Jehovah would glorify Himself. 9.

How she reached Holofernes, yet managed to remain undefiled. 10.

Her advice to him. 11.

Her acceptance of his invitation to a feast. 12.

How she slew Holofernes and escaped without hurt to Bethulia. 13.

The Hebrew attack and the confused retreat of the Assyrian army. 14, 15.

Judith's hymn of rejoicing. 16: 1-17.

Her long and blameless life. 16: 18-25.

The story makes much of Judith's avoidance of ceremonial uncleanness and scrupulous piety. Its date should be not far from 150 B.C. It has no historical value, but is a masterpiece of good story-telling.

Of another character was the book of Tobit, written somewhere between 190 and 170 B.C., and more in the spirit of the book of Jonah. It represents the opinion of the traveled Jew, acquainted with other peoples, familiar with Greek, liberalized in thought and custom yet loyal to the standards of his own people. In the case of such a Jew the intense religious pride and bigotry of his Judean relatives shaded into a devotion and reverence which recognized the opportunity which God had given the Hebrew to convert the world.

The Book of Tobit

Preface. 1: 1, 2.

Introduction: the early history of Tobit and how he became blind, and of Sarah, persecuted by the demon, Asmodeus. 1: 3 to 3: 17.

The journey of Tobias, his son, accompanied unwittingly by the angel Raphael, to get the money left in trust in Media. 4-11.

Preparations for it. 4: 1 to 6: 1.

Tobias' adventure with the fish; he secures its gall and liver. 6: 2: 9.

His marriage at Raguel's home to Sarah and successful expulsion of the demon. 6: 10 to 8: 21.

Raphael's successful journey to Media for the money. 9: 1-6.

The return of Tobias with his wife to his lonely parents at Nineveh and his cure of Tobit's blindness. 10: 1 to 11: 17.

The disclosure of Raphael's identity and his ascension. 12.

Tobit's prayer of joy. 13.

Conclusion: Tobit's views regarding the future. 14.

Tobit was a wholesome and popular bit of religious fiction with many excellent morals, such as the danger of apostasy, the avoidance of mixed marriages and faithfulness to the law. The hero is a model religionist of his time. Such tales as these give a reader a clear impression of the religious thinking of the second century, especially the growth of a belief in angels and demons.

3. THE WINNING OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE.

(485) **The Last Four Years of the Leadership of Judas.** Judas lost no time in dealing repeated and vigorous blows against the surrounding enemies of the Jews, the Idumeans, Ammonites and the Syrians of Galilee. In a very brief time he overran a territory larger than David's kingdom. He thus gained great prestige, disheartened his enemies, rescued multitudes of Jews and built up the population of Judea into strength.*

He attempted to capture the citadel of Jerusalem, which was garrisoned by Syrian soldiers. This roused Antiochus V, Eupator, the son and heir of Antiochus Epiphanes, who sent a huge army against Judas, defeated him, besieged him in Jerusalem, and might have ended the Maccabean struggle, had not complications at Antioch made a withdrawal advisable. Before going, Antiochus made a treaty with Judas which granted full religious liberty to the Jews. With this many of the followers of Judas were satisfied, and were unwilling to fight longer. Antiochus appointed as high priest Alcimus, a leader of the hellenizing party, whom Judas distrusted and prevented from the exercise of his functions. Alcimus fled to Antioch, complained to the new king, Demetrius, that Judas was plotting high treason, and was sent back with an army behind him, which, though twice defeated, was replaced by another. Terror or jealousy had thinned the

* For Palestine under his rule and that of Jonathan, see the map facing page 318.

ranks of the army of Judas, until he was obliged to face more than twenty thousand soldiers under Bacchides with eight hundred men. In the fierce struggle that followed, the heroic leader fell.

(486) **The Work of Judas.** At Eleasa perished a brave and noble soul. He had won for his people the priceless boon of religious freedom, he had built up Judea, he had set a fine example of devotedness and persistency, and had inspired many with a vision of political independence. In many respects he repeated the work of Joshua.

(487) **The Leadership of Jonathan. (161-143 B.C.)** With the death of Judas the three remaining brothers and their followers became outlaws. The hellenistic faction, led by Alcimus and supported by Bacchides, was supreme. Alcimus even dared to order the barrier which separated the outer and inner courts of the Temple to be pulled down, so that there would be no difference between Jews and Gentiles. His sudden death in 160 B.C. stopped this work and was regarded by loyal Jews as an act of Divine retribution. Such measures soon caused the faithful to long for their old leadership. Jonathan was chosen "ruler and captain." He was a clever leader, quick to take advantage of sudden openings. In his day the possession of the throne of Syria was bitterly contested, especially after 152 B.C., when a pretender, Alexander Balas, raised the standard of revolt against Demetrius I. By 150 B.C., Balas succeeded in defeating Demetrius, put him to death and ascended the throne for five years (150-145 B.C.). In 158 B.C. Demetrius permitted Jonathan to settle at Micmash within the bounds of Judea and to become the ruler of the Judeans as his vassal, kept in check by the garrisons at the citadel at Jerusalem and in a series of fortresses built by Bacchides at strategic points, such as Jericho, Emmaus, Bethhoron, Bethel, Bethsur, and other unidentified places. For six years Jonathan quietly grew in strength under these conditions. In 153 he made Jerusalem his residence. When Alexander Balas attacked Demetrius in 152 B.C., Demetrius, to keep Jonathan loyal, permitted him to organize a small stand-

ing army and to rebuild the fortifications of Mt. Zion and of Jerusalem. Syrian soldiery were left only in the citadel at Jerusalem and at Bethsur. Hearing what Demetrius had done, Alexander Balas appointed Jonathan to the vacant high priesthood and sent him princely insignia, thus recognizing him as the civil and religious head of the Jewish state. Under Balas (150-145 B.C.), Jonathan's power rapidly increased. He was made governor of Judea. When Balas was threatened by Demetrius II, Jonathan obtained control of much of Philistia by fighting on his sovereign's behalf. Balas was defeated in 145 B.C., and Demetrius II (145-140 B.C.) ascended the Syrian throne. Jonathan had already begun to lay siege to the citadel in Jerusalem. Summoned to the presence of Demetrius to explain this hostile act, he succeeded by gifts and diplomacy in winning the friendship of Demetrius, a strip of Samaritan territory, and a promise of exemption from tribute in return for the lump sum of three hundred talents. Unable to take the citadel, he built the great wall which isolated it (§ 478), and led to its surrender to Simon. Soon afterwards Jonathan fell a victim to treachery, and was immediately succeeded in the leadership by Simon, the one remaining brother of the original Hasmonean leaders and, in many respects, the noblest and most able of them all, the one who had modestly and steadily upheld the authority of his brothers for twenty-three years. Demetrius needed Simon's loyal adhesion and, being assured of his support, recognized Simon as high priest, confirmed the promises made to Jonathan and remitted the payment of tribute. Thus the year 143 B.C. became the starting point of a real Jewish independence.

XX

THE PERIOD OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE. 143 TO 63 B.C.
(I Maccabees 13-16; Josephus; Similitudes of Enoch; Early Sibylline Oracles; Wisdom of Solomon)

(488) From the beginning of Simon's beneficent rule until Pompey's virtual annexation of Judea to Rome's dominions was only eighty years. They were years of disappointment and distress in many particulars, yet significant, after all, for Judaism. They had particular value in binding together the great Jewish world, in intensifying the dedication of the Jews as a people to God's service, in quickening the Messianic expectation and in impressing upon the thinking outside world some sense of the truths which were great and living realities to a Jew. The history of the period, even when told by a Josephus who loved his people, indicates that the people of Judea were their own worst foes. Internal dissensions were chiefly responsible for wrecking the Hasmonean kingdom. The rulers were not quite strong enough to carry their discordant, perhaps incompatible duties as civil and religious rulers, and found it hardly possible to hold the loyalty of both of the two rapidly diverging parties, the Pharisees and Sadducees. Their method of meeting emergencies was to ignore them and to plunge into such conquests as were possible. They thus increased their dominions and their prestige, but permitted the state to become gradually a camp of warring factions, who hated one another more than they did an outside foe. The Hasmonean kings did much for Jerusalem by way of its embellishment and strengthening. They made three marked changes. They built a palace on the southwest hill, lowered the level of the old citadel south of the Temple to that of the rest of the ridge, and built a new citadel to the northwest of the Temple to replace the old one.

(489) **The Happy Rule of Simon. (143-135 B.C.)** Simon was a real father of his people who brought great peace and prosperity to them. Having expelled the

Syrian garrison from Jerusalem, he fortified the Temple area. Called to account by Antiochus Sidetes for these acts and for the conquest of Gezer and Joppa, his son, John Hyrcanus, thoroughly defeated the army of Antiochus. Thereafter Simon was left in peace. His grateful people proclaimed him the civil, military and religious head of Judea. He refrained from calling himself king, but he was a true sovereign. Like his predecessors, he cultivated friendly relations with Rome. Whether this measure was wise or not is open to question; Rome's friendship was somewhat dangerous for little states.

(490) **The Completion of the Psalter.** Not later than the reign of Simon and perhaps much earlier, the Psalter was brought to completion. The date rests especially upon the question of the existence of Maccabean psalms. Psalm 74 is thought to refer rather clearly to the spoliation of the Temple of Antiochus. The question whether the Psalter was completed in the Greek or in the Maccabean age is not of great importance. The Psalter as now printed is separated into five books. This is undoubtedly a technical division, paralleling the Pentateuch, and of no great significance. The three great divisions, 1-41, 42-89 and 90-150, represent stages of editing into compact collections.

The Psalter was Judaism's great religious hymnal. From a time to which no one can give a date, but probably at least four centuries earlier than Simon's day, its lyrics were the source, expression and incentive of every phase of religious aspiration. It reflects the inner consciousness of Israel, but likewise of all godly souls. The imprecations and the low ideals which may be found here and there are found in the same proportion in the average heart and for similar reasons. The Psalter is the world's interpreter of God to man. In such immortal psalms as 8, 23, 51, 90, 91, 103 and 149 Israel's faith finds its noblest expression. But by the whole collection fundamental religious traits are nourished. God is the great reality of the Psalter. It seizes upon eternal things and interprets them to human need. Hence, mankind

will use these "praises of Israel" while the world stands.

(491) **The Vigorous and Prosperous Reign of John Hyrcanus. (135-105 B.C.)** Simon did not escape the customary fate of the sons of Mattathias. His very prosperity made him the object of envy and hatred. His own trusted son-in-law, Ptolemy, murdered Simon and two of his sons at a banquet given in Simon's honor. No doubt Ptolemy expected to succeed Simon, but the third son, John Hyrcanus, escaped to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed. The murderer escaped, after putting the mother of John to death. Antiochus Sidetes, the reigning Syrian king, seized the opportunity to invade Judea. Jerusalem was besieged and capitulated, the walls being partially destroyed and a heavy war tax imposed. Five years later the death of Antiochus left John Hyrcanus practically free, a condition which endured for half a century. For half of this time, Hyrcanus ruled without a rival. He set himself to the task of enlarging his dominions and making them secure. Employing mercenaries he campaigned, first across the Jordan, then in Samaria. He destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which for at least two centuries had been a defiant rival of the Temple at Jerusalem. (§ 459.) This intensified the hatred which had been growing up between the Jews and their Samaritan neighbors. Idumea was next visited. The Edomites had been the persistent foes of the Jews on their southern border. Hyrcanus soon conquered them and compelled the inhabitants to choose between Judaism or exile. It was a mistaken policy, since the absorption of the Edomites opened the way to a series of fatal misfortunes to his family. Samaria was the last country to submit to his prowess. Eventually Hyrcanus ruled over a small empire ranging from the southern hills of Galilee to the southern desert, and from the Mediterranean to the eastern desert. The captives and treasure he had won enabled Hyrcanus to beautify and strengthen Jerusalem. He built the new castle which remained thenceforth the stronghold for the masters of the city (Acts 21: 34, 37), a new palace, and probably the high level aqueduct of which

Philo writes. Hyrcanus was more of a king than a high priest; the absurdity of his exercise of the holy office was patent. A large and influential party among his subjects felt outraged by its continuance, and gave expression to their opinion. Hyrcanus did not yield to their desires, but treated them as conspirators against the peace and dignity of his kingdom. Fortunately for him there was no rupture during his life.

(492) **The Three Jewish Parties: Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes.** During the reigns of Jonathan, Simon and John, the lines were being drawn which created the two great parties of later Judaism. The Pharisaic party as such grew out of that body of devout and loyal men who stood by Judas in his struggles on behalf of Judaism. They were essentially a religious group, not as anxious for political independence as for holiness; indeed, political ambitions did not stir them at all. When religious freedom had been won they were satisfied, and felt that the nation's energies should be centered on obedience to the Law with full faith in God's power to take care of His people. They spent their energies and resources on the teaching and interpretation of the Law, so that the nation could be indeed holy in God's sight. They looked for the Messiah, and believed that when He appeared the faithful would be raised from the dead to live with Him. Theirs was a clear, consistent, attractive faith, which won the adhesion of the masses. Their watchwords were repentance, prayer and almsgiving. They sought by diligently keeping the commandments to come into a close relationship with God.

The Sadducees were fewer in numbers than the Pharisees, but were powerful. They were mainly aristocrats, worldly minded priests, obeying the literal commands of the Law, but not stretching them, questioning the resurrection and a future retribution as being new additions to Jewish faith. They naturally welcomed Hellenic culture, and were willing to gain advantage through foreign alliances or clever diplomacy or mercenary troops or in any other available way. They seemed to the Phari-

sees to lack seriousness or real piety and were despised. The two parties developed so bitter an antagonism that they wrecked the Hasmonean kingdom rather than to get together.

The Essenes were a sect rather than a party. They sought purity and goodness, but represented an extreme Pharisaism in their methods of attainment. They were ascetics who lived apart from social or civil life in communities. Their life was simple, devout and orderly, that of a monastic brotherhood. They had neither the fierce pride of the Pharisee nor the scornful skepticism of the Sadducee. They delighted in ministering to the humble, poor and feeble. John the Baptist may have spent his early years with them. There never were more than four thousand of the Essenes. The whole movement blended into monasticism.

(493) **The Complete Translation for Alexandrian Jews of the Old Testament into Greek.** As early as the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus (about 250 B.C.), a monumental task of great importance and interest began at Alexandria in Egypt, which was continued for upwards of a century, until it was completed. This task was the translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Hellenistic Greek. Alexandria was the great intellectual capital of Judaism. In the days of Simon it has been estimated that a million Jews lived in Egypt. Many of these were wealthy and cultured, but also devout. They had built a temple at Leontopolis as a rallying place in the days when the Syrian persecutions made pilgrimages to Jerusalem impossible. The new Greek translation was a far greater achievement. It put the Scriptures into a handy book form (§ 14); it arranged the books in a literary order; it made the Scriptures available to the widespread Greek-speaking world. But best of all, it was the first of a long line of noble translations of which the American Standard Revised Version is the conclusion and crown. The Greek version came to be known as the Septuaginta or Seventy, because of the tradition, wholly without foundation, of course, that it was produced by seventy-two rabbis in as

many days, each making a separate version, and all agreeing absolutely. This tradition, entertainingly told with much additional information concerning Palestinian and Egyptian affairs in the second century, may be found in the letter of Aristaeas, written about 200 B.C.

(494) The Completion of the Old Testament Canon.

It is not easy to give a date to the virtual completion of the Old Testament in Hebrew. The Pentateuch, as we have seen (§ 447), was recognized as sacred Scripture about 400 B.C. The historical writings (except those of the Chronicler and Ruth and Esther) and the prophetic writings (except Daniel) were recognized in their present form not later than 200 B.C., and possibly half a century earlier. The "Writings" may well have been collected, edited and published in their present form during the years preceding 100 B.C. The status of Daniel, Ecclesiastes and Esther was not officially settled until 90 A.D., at the rabbinical council of Jamnia (§ 528), but, practically speaking, they were regarded as Scriptural for the two preceding centuries.

(495) The Growth of Scribal Influence. During the Maccabean era the Jews grew to be a "people of the book." They had a profound respect for the authority of their Scriptures as expressing the will of God. The scribes who were the interpreters of these treasures gained a new prominence. The synagogue became more and more the working center of community life. The great desire of the Pharisees to render strict and complete obedience to the Law began to develop that exaltation of petty details and the marvelously intricate scheme of obedience which gradually made Pharisaic Judaism a social burden and a religious hindrance.

(496) The Ambitious but Disastrous Reigns of Aristobulus (105-104 B.C.) and Alexander Jannaeus. (104-78 B.C.) When Hyrcanus died he tried to placate the factions in his kingdom by making his eldest son, Aristobulus, high priest, and leaving the government to his wife. But Aristobulus imprisoned his mother and assumed entire control. He was a natural despot and a

Hellenist in sympathies. He added a part of Iturea and perhaps of Galilee to his dominions, but died soon afterward. He was succeeded by the third son of Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannaeus, the least religious, the most unscrupulous and ambitious of his race, a man of despotic tendencies, treacherous and revengeful. This ruler was most offensive as a high priest to the religiously minded of Judea. Ministering once at the Temple he ignored the strict rules of procedure, whereupon there was a riot, resulting in a massacre of the people and the erection of a permanent barrier around the Temple and altar which wholly excluded the laity. Jannaeus depended for support and counsel more and more upon the Sadducees; while, despite the loyalty of Alexandra, his wife, to the Pharisees, they, as a party, developed a deadly hatred for the king. He was usually at war, and managed to maintain himself and add to his dominions.* But his reign accomplished three deplorable results. It estranged the loyalty of the finest Judeans to the Hasmonean dynasty; it developed a murderous rivalry between Pharisees and Sadducees; and it drained the resources of his conglomerate kingdom. Its glory was unsubstantial.

(497) **The "Golden Age" of Alexandra. (78-69 B.C.)** Alexandra, the wife of Jannaeus, succeeded to his throne, the second queen in Israel's history. She reversed her husband's policy, for her own sympathies were with the Pharisees, who had full control during her reign. Her famous brother, Simon ben Shetach, was a leader in whatever was done. Naturally there was little war and much internal reorganization. According to the Talmud, Simon introduced elementary schooling in connection with each synagogue, and instruction became the duty of the scribes instead of parents. A regular annual Temple tax was also imposed on every Israelite. These two changes were of great importance to Judaism. In Alexandra's day also the Sanhedrin was reorganized and scribes were admitted to its membership. Her nine years were golden days for the Pharisees. They misused their power, however, by

* For the extent of his dominions, see the map facing page 318.

putting many Sadducees to death, whereupon Alexandra made the mistake of permitting the Sadducees to retire to the greater portion of the fortresses of the land for protection. They waited there in security for a turn of fortune.

(498) **The Apologetic Jewish Writings.** The contentions of Judaism with Hellenism for more than a century seemed incomprehensible to the average Greek. He disliked and despised, just as the average Roman did, so peculiar a people. The Jews of the greater Hellenic world were exposed to all sorts of attack. They were treated unjustly by Greek and Roman writers. In defense of their own ideas and practices the Jews not only translated their Scriptures into Greek (§ 493), but wrote apologetic literature. Demetrius, about 215 B.C., wrote a fulsome history of the Jewish kings. Aristobulus, the philosopher, tried to harmonize Jewish with Greek conceptions. Some writers took such a historian as Hecataeus, who had written in friendly fashion about the Jews, and expanded what he had written. The crowning example of their activity is the third book of the Sibylline Oracles, lines 97-817, which sketched the history of the World to Roman times, prophesied Israel's future and the Messianic blessings and appealed to the world to abandon idolatry, and worship the one true God. Multitudes who ignored the philosophers were really impressed by these Homeric hexameters, which were unquestionably the product of Jewish minds.

(499) **The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon.** One of the finest products of this age, composed in Egypt by a Jew, who was very familiar with the literature and point of view of Hellenism, was the Book of Wisdom. Its author was a loyal, but enlightened Jew. His work was a study of the problems already considered in Ecclesiastes (§ 471), but it came to a more satisfying conclusion. It consists of five elaborate discourses:

The Book of Wisdom

The truly wise man seeks the knowledge of God through purity of life. Such knowledge is unattainable by wicked men. 1: 1-11.

Worldly men are satisfied with superficial joys; they ignore immortality,

but the righteous rejoice over it, await it and live accordingly. 1: 12 to 6: 11.

Wisdom is desirable from many standpoints. Through wisdom Solomon gained his influence and insight. 6: 12 to 9: 18.

Wisdom saved the world before Moses through the great leaders she inspired. 10: 1 to 11: 5.

Through wisdom's powerful aid Israel's foes, foolish idol worshippers of Egypt and Canaan, met adverse fortune, while God's people were blessed. 11: 6 to 19: 22.

Wisdom was evidently written by a Jew and for the benefit of those surrounded by skepticism, materialism and idolatry, and exposed to persecution. It was highly esteemed and deserved its reputation. It advances beyond Ecclesiastes by reason of its confident grasp of immortality, and because it surveys this life and its happenings in the light of eternity. Our Lord and St. Paul probably found much that was attractive in this noble work of reflection, perhaps the choicest product of pre-Christian Alexandrian Judaism.

(500) **The Impulse Given by the Age to Apocalyptic Composition.** Attention has been called in earlier paragraphs (§§ 316, 421, 453, 456, 470) to passages in the prophetic writings, such as Zeph., Isaiah 24-27, Joel, Zech. 12-14, which betrayed the growth of the apocalyptic temper. Apocalypse may be defined as a looking forward to the achievement of God's purposes by His sudden, supernatural intervention. It must be distinguished from genuine prophecy, which conceives the future as a time when nations and individuals will be inwardly transformed into loyal children of God. Prophecy hopes to convert the wicked; apocalypse would destroy them and thus give room for righteousness. The bitter experiences of faithful Jews during the Greek and Maccabean periods tended to center their attention upon the probability of a Divine overturning of the existing world. How and when this would take place they did not know, but it seemed to them the clear pathway for Almighty power. Naturally such devout souls took delight in the book of Daniel, and kept anticipating the establishment of the "heavenly kingdom which shall never be destroyed but shall stand forever." (Dan. 2: 44.)

Two noteworthy books were issued, probably before the close of Alexandra's reign, the book of Enoch and the book of Jubilees. The book of Enoch contains material as old as the Maccabean struggle and as late as the first half of the first century B.C. It is a sort of Judaistic "Dante" explaining the mysteries of the angelic world and God's purposes for the future, all put into the mouth of Enoch, because of his supposed transference to the heavenly sphere while alive (Gen. 5:24). It throws more light upon Jewish ideas concerning the resurrection, the judgment, the Messiah, angelology, demonology, the vindication of the righteous and the Messianic age than any other one book. All these ideas are clothed in strange and often weird symbolism, a feature characteristic of apocalypse, not infrequently, perhaps, because this sort of literature was meant to be illuminating and comforting to those who could interpret it and to be quite meaningless to outsiders. The early Christians thought highly of this book. The Fathers often quoted from it.

The Book of Enoch

How Enoch came to know all about the earth and Sheol. 1-36.

The three parables. 37-71.

First parable: the coming judgment of the wicked. 37-44.

Second parable: the new heaven and earth. 45-57

Third parable: the blessedness of the righteous. 58-71.

The heavenly luminaries. 72-82.

The dream visions. 83-90 (see § 482).

Admonitions and assurances for the righteous and woes upon sinners. 91-104.

The Messianic age of blessedness when God and men live together. 105.

An apocalypse. 106-107.

The book of Jubilees was a sort of midrashic commentary on the Biblical history from creation to the publication of the Law on Mt. Sinai, intended to arouse the Jews to a deeper devotedness to the Law, and to Levitical ordinances, such as circumcision and Sabbath keeping, which it traced back in all their strictness to earliest times. Its date may possibly be placed fifty years before Alexandra's reign. The writer evidently sought to oppose the growing popularity of Hellenism

and particularly intermarriage with non-Jews. His views on angelology, demonology, and immortality are instructive. 23: 31, "the souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death," may be the earliest attested declaration of this hope after 200 B.C. It became eventually the accepted idea of the resurrection.

The three books, Daniel, Enoch and Jubilees, were among the choicest examples of a numerous apocalyptic literature which explains much that is mysterious in the thinking of the Jewish people as expressed in the New Testament.

(501) **The Civil Strife between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, Resulting in an Appeal to Pompey, who Made Judea the Tributary of Rome in 63 B.C. (69-63 B.C.)** Hyrcanus, the elder son of Alexandra, was inefficient and spiritless. He had been made high priest during Alexandra's reign. Aristobulus, his brother, was ambitious and energetic. The latter had sided with the Sadduceans and helped them to gain permission to occupy the fortresses of the kingdom (§ 497). At his mother's death Aristobulus was ready to seize the throne, but was willing to permit his brother to continue as high priest. Hyrcanus might have acceded to this arrangement had not Antipater, the governor of Idumea and the evil genius of the Hasmonean family, persuaded him to flee to Petra and secure the help of the Arab prince, Aretas, in winning the throne of Judea. Aristobulus was defeated and sought refuge on the fortified Temple mountain. About this time the Roman general, Pompey, successfully conquered Pontus and Armenia and planned to establish the authority of Rome as far as the Euphrates. His lieutenant, Scaurus, was in Syria. Hearing of the siege of Aristobulus, Scaurus hastened to Palestine. Appealed to by both brothers, he ordered Aretas to withdraw. For a brief period Aristobulus was the master of the situation. But in the spring of 63 B.C. three deputations met Pompey at Damascus, one representing Hyrcanus, one Aristobulus, and a third the Pharisaic party, which declared their wish that Rome should assume political control of

Palestine and leave its people free to worship God in their own way. Pompey's decision was in favor of annexation. The followers of Aristobulus held out so bitterly that Pompey carried Aristobulus and his family away to grace his Roman triumph. Thus the Hasmonean monarchy came to an end.

(502) **The Permanent Results of the Maccabean Age.** We have already noted the increase of the Jewish population of Judea and the extension of the kingdom until it covered the greater part of Palestine, the broadening of Jewish culture and the development of racial loyalty to the oral as well as to the written Law. To these results of the past century might be added a new sense of racial unity. Henceforth all loyal Jews regarded Jerusalem as the one center of their religious world. There was also a fresh sense of the larger unity of mankind, a scholastic idea, however, rather than a popular one. With all these changes, there had come an increasing emphasis upon the royal hopes of the race. The century of independence abounded in contrasts all the way from valiant achievement to basest treachery, from supreme devotedness to the Law to entire indifference to all religion, from wonderful advances to astonishing failures, but it threshed Judaism into its final form.

XXI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMAN OVERLORDSHIP IN JUDEA AND PALESTINE. 63 TO 37 B.C.

(Josephus, II Maccabees, The Psalms of Solomon)

(503) The quarrels of Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II not only invited the interference of the Romans, who were quick to notice the internal weakness of the little kingdoms within their sphere of influence, but introduced as a prominent factor in Jewish affairs a new and fateful influence in the person of Antipater, the Idumean. His family held all the real power there was outside of Rome's direct sovereignty until the downfall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

When Pompey reinstated Hyrcanus as high priest and administrator with the title of ethnarch, the Pharisees were satisfied, but not the people, who fretted under the Roman yoke. Their religious teachers declared that the Messiah would right all Jewish wrongs in good time if they were religiously faithful, but they had their ears open to every summons to fight for freedom. Pompey reorganized Palestine, restored their local liberty to many Greek cities, reduced Judea to its earlier smallness of size and organized the Decapolis league in east Jordan. If he hoped by strengthening the independent Greek communities and by encouraging the rebuilding of the ruined cities to balance the power of the Jews by that of more loyal Greek districts, he did not appreciate the Jewish people. Reckless of results, they followed their impulses. Whenever a claimant to the Jewish throne appeared, an army rallied to his support. For twenty-three years Hyrcanus was the nominal ruler; but these were years of turmoil which only made more inevitable the rule of Rome. The Senate finally made Herod the king of Judea, because it recognized him as a man of commanding ability who could bring order into the distracted land.

(504) **The First Twelve Years after Pompey's Conquest. (63-52 B.C.)** For several years peace reigned in Palestine, but in 57 B.C. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, escaped from Rome, appeared in Judea, and appealed to his countrymen. His army was defeated by Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, who proceeded to divide Judea into districts, and to rebuild the old Greek cities, in order to make Judea less unified and dangerous. Almost immediately Aristobulus himself escaped from Rome with his son Antigonos, and raised again the standard of revolt. This uprising was quelled and Aristobulus sent back to Rome, but his sons were permitted to live in Judea. The absence of Gabinius in Egypt encouraged Alexander to attempt a third uprising, which was defeated more disastrously than ever. These revolts had merely confirmed Rome in the opinion that the Jews were a turbulent, rebellious people, had intensified the

Jewish hatred of their conquerors and had forwarded the interests of Antipater, who, in a way almost uncanny, seemed always to reap advantage from the misfortunes of the others. He served alike the interests of the Romans and of the Jews. He could not prevent Crassus, as consul in Syria, from plundering the Temple, nor his people from revolting once more because of the deed, but he was not held responsible for the outrage nor for its outcome. In 52 B.C. this fourth revolt was quelled with such severity that the people remained quiet for some years.

(505) **The Psalms of Solomon.** These eighteen psalms express the ideas and hopes of loyal Pharisees in the days which followed Pompey's conquest. They dwell upon God's righteousness, His treatment of sinners, His sure mercy toward Israel. They long for the Messiah, conceiving Him as a human ruler with noble ideals of government and religion. They express a confident belief in the resurrection and immortality of the righteous, while they realize that the nation is suffering under the just judgments of a loving God.

(506) **The Appointment of Herod by Julius Caesar as Governor of Galilee.** About 45 B.C. The struggle for supremacy between Caesar and Pompey, which was decided in Caesar's favor at Pharsalia, August, 48 B.C., was the occasion of the death of two of the claimants to Judea's throne, Aristobulus and his son, Alexander. It left Antigonus, the other son, as the only rival of his uncle, Hyrcanus, the puppet of Antipater. Antipater had naturally sided with Pompey, who ruled the East; but he managed to perform such valuable services to Caesar in the month following Pharsalia that the conqueror rewarded him and his people generously. The districts of Gabinius were abolished, Antipater was made a Roman citizen, Hyrcanus was again made ethnarch and high priest with Antipater as his prime minister, the Sanhedrin was given authority over local Jewish interests, the Judeans were granted religious freedom and exempted from supporting Roman legions and from serving in them.

Antipater showed wonderful judgment in the requests which he made. He did not fail to think of his own family and secured from Caesar the appointment of his son Phasael as governor of Jerusalem and of his son Herod as governor of Galilee. Herod was young and ambitious. He signalized his accession to office by clearing Galilee of the robbers who infested it. With their customary folly, the Sanhedrists summoned him to answer to them for exercising the death penalty without permission. Such treatment angered him, and only his father's counsels prevented him from attacking Jerusalem and putting the Sanhedrists to death. With two such sons Antipater might well feel secure concerning his hold upon Judea. His hopes, whatever they were, were blasted by Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. With his wonderful talent for diplomacy, however, he and his sons managed to keep the favor, first of Cassius, then of Antony. Antipater met his death by poisoning, but Phasael and Herod were given full control of Judean affairs in 42 B.C.

(507) **The Parthian Invasion of Palestine the Occasion of Herod's Appointment as King of Judea.** While Rome was in disturbance the Parthians, the long-time foes of Rome, seized Syria. Encouraged by them, Antigonus returned to Palestine in 41 B.C., and with their aid and that of the Jews who hated Herod, he actually established himself in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus and Phasael fell victims to his treachery; Herod had to flee, first to the fortress of Masada, then to Egypt and Rome. He urged Anthony and Octavian to appoint Aristobulus III, the grandson of Hyrcanus, as king of Judea and to give him the post of prime minister to Aristobulus. They were rightly suspicious of Hasmonians, and, recognizing Herod's ability and friendship, offered him the kingship, an appointment speedily confirmed by the senate in the autumn of 40 B.C. Herod went right to work to make the title a real one. It took three years of persistent fighting, but finally, in the fall of 37 B.C., Jerusalem was taken and Antigonus was ignominiously beheaded. Herod strengthened his hold upon the throne by marrying

Mariamne, the beautiful granddaughter of Hyrcanus II, to whom he had been betrothed for five or six years.

XXII

HEROD THE GREAT, THE KING OF THE JEWS.

37 TO 4 B.C. (Josephus)

(508) With the establishment of Herod on the throne of Judea a remarkable career began. Herod was an unusual man. He was successful as a soldier and diplomat, keen as a leader and judge of men, and masterful, shrewd and efficient as an administrator. He was also ruthless in method, relentless in pursuit of those whom he regarded as his enemies, impatient of opposition or control and a slave to his passions. He was never commonplace, but his greatness was that of the egotistical tyrant, never that of the disinterested or even broadminded statesman. He played with skill and assurance a most difficult part in keeping the balance between a fanatical people and their aggressive masters, between Judaism as expounded by the very learned and wholly unyielding scribes of his day and the Hellenism in which he really rejoiced. He was not wholly successful. His subjects were neither blind nor stupid. They admired his genius and feared his prowess, but they hated him throughout his reign, notwithstanding his great services to Judea and to the greater Jewish world. Had he used his unusual powers for ends which were truly great and worthy, the course of Palestinian history might have greatly altered. Yet the Jewish people were already heading towards their doom. They were in these decades, as so often before, their own worst foes.

(509) **The Meaning to Western Asia of the Dominion of Rome.** The overlordship of Rome had much significance for the Asiatic world and for the Judea of Herod's day. It meant, of course, the transfer of the seat of authority and power to Rome, the shifting, likewise, of the center of commercial life from Alexandria to the imperial city. But it meant at the same time the vast

increase of traffic and business and national interchange because of the security which Rome established on land and sea alike. A trip to Palestine from Italy became no more of a venture than a voyage from California to China or Japan becomes today. Most of all the rule of Rome gave a unity to the world never known before through its wonderful scheme of imperial highways, its genius for discipline and organization, and its great system of law.

(510) **Herod's Slow Establishment of His Dynasty. (37-25 B.C.)** Herod's genius fitted into Roman plans. He had the imperial vision and a fundamental sense of order. For some years his throne was wholly dependent on the caprice of Antony and was endangered by the intrigues of Cleopatra of Egypt, and of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, who hated Herod with ample reason. Salome, Herod's sister, hated Mariamne, his beautiful, imperious wife, and sought to stir him to jealousy, so that he would put her to death. He managed to evade his political dangers, but became more and more a victim of jealous rage. Throwing in his fortunes with Octavian, Herod was confirmed in his kingdom, which was enlarged by districts in the east Jordan country, Samaria and Philistia. But led by trickery to believe in Mariamne's unfaithfulness he put her to death and, soon after, the tricky Alexandra and all the remaining kindred of the Hasmonean house. There were then no possible rivals to Herod's own family.

(511) **The Brilliant Period of His Reign (25-13 B.C.)** By 25 B.C. Octavian had begun to be termed Augustus and to organize his dominions in imperial fashion. Herod was of much use to him in the maintenance of peace on his eastern border, so Herod's territory was gradually enlarged until it included virtually the whole of Palestine.* He was also in sympathy with the imperial desire to promote the unity of the world through the spread of Hellenic culture. During the next decade and more Herod set himself to the task of using his resources in the promotion

* For his kingdom, see the map facing page 346.

**KINGDOM of HEROD THE GREAT,
80-4 B. C.**

**PALESTINE under SONS of HEROD,
4 B. C.-6 A. D.**



M.-N. WORKS

PALESTINE in the time of CHRIST

**PALESTINE under HEROD AGRIPPA,
44 A. D.**

of this policy. He safeguarded his authority by the construction of fortresses. He tried to develop a love of the ways of Hellenism by instituting games every quadrennium, by erecting gymnasia, statues and temples both in Palestine and in outside cities, and by focalizing at Jerusalem many social and literary interests. He gave Rome a secure harbor and safe administrative center by building the port and city of Caesarea. Other beautiful cities he built or rebuilt, Sebaste, Antipatris, Agrippeion and Phasaelis. He did not neglect the prosperity of his own land. Jerusalem increased greatly in security, population, commerce and size. He repaired the walls, erected four strong and lofty towers provided with battlements and turrets, increased the palace area and constructed a new palace on the southwest hill. This became the Praetorium of the Roman procurators. He had also, somewhat earlier, rebuilt and enlarged the citadel at vast expense, naming it Antonia.

(512) **The Rebuilding of the Temple.** Herod's new and beautiful structures in the most conspicuous part of Jerusalem made Zerubbabel's Temple look rather small and shabby. He thought to add to his glory and popularity by rebuilding the Temple. With great difficulty he gained the consent of his people by promising that the old structure should not be pulled down until he was ready to build the new one, and by arranging that no heathen hands should touch the Sanctuary. He put a thousand priests into training as masons and carpenters. About the beginning of 19 B.C., the enterprise was begun. The Sanctuary was finished in eighteen months, but the completion of the larger group of buildings was seven years later. The Temple was not completed in every detail, according to Josephus, until about 63 A.D., six or seven years before its destruction.

Herod's Temple differed from Zerubbabel's in several respects. He doubled the area about it at vast expense, made the Porch into a tall façade one hundred and seventy feet high, and so adjusted the surrounding space that around the Sanctuary was a court for priests only,

outside of that the court of Israel and the court for women, and outside both of these the court of the Gentiles, where anyone could go. (§ 418.)

The worship at this Temple was very elaborate. According to Josephus twenty thousand priests ministered at the Temple in twenty-four squads, each serving a week at a time. Two public services were held each day, at sunrise and at sunset. On great days a very elaborate ritual was followed, which must have deeply impressed every reverent soul. It helped to give their religion a stronger hold than ever on the hearts of loyal Jews.

(513) **The Messianic Expectation.** We have noted in our study of prophecy and apocalypse, three ways in which Israel's hopes for the future found expression. In the earlier, nationalistic days (§ 304) Jehovah's plans for the world were to be carried out through a Davidic king or ruler who was to direct the affairs of the repentant nation with wisdom under Divine blessing and protection. Parallel with that idea another developed, which looked for a leadership which would fit the nation through self-renunciation to evangelize the world and bring it in repentance to Jehovah's feet (§ 401). A third conception was that Jehovah would intervene in majesty to destroy the wicked and thus open the way for Israel to do her work (§ 500). The common elements in all these conceptions were the unquestioned power and purpose of Almighty God, the universality of His worship and Israel's part in bringing it about.

The Jews of Herod's day had no clear program of the future in mind. They were much under the influence of the apocalyptical writings which declared that God would intervene some day supernaturally to make the Jewish nation supreme over its enemies. They pictured the Messiah as coming from God to deliver and preserve Israel, to rule and judge the world. Apparently the recognized leaders of the national thinking ignored the spiritual interpretation of prophetic hopes found in Isaiah 53 and expected a literal fulfilment of the nationalistic declarations of the earlier prophets. They made the fatal

error, so common even today among students of prophecy, of emphasizing the letter of prophecy and overlooking its essential meaning. Properly and historically interpreted, the true religious thinking of Israel, as outlined and guided by the prophets, reveals a steady, almost even progress from Amos 3: 1, 2 to Isaiah 52: 12 to 53: 12. In Herod's day, however, as in the twentieth century, interpreters abounded who ignored all progress.

(514) **The Last Years of Herod. (13-4 B.C.)** The task which Herod set himself of making the Jews an integral part of the Graeco-Roman world was hopeless. The spirit of Judaism was unconquerable and immovable. The task was all the more impossible, however, because the king became so degenerate. The last years of his life were one continuous tangle of suspicions, intrigue and murder. Even when death was staring in his face, instead of seeking to make his memory honored by some last act of friendliness, he planned the worst crime of all. He sent for Salome, and directed her to summon all the principal men of the nation, to shut them up in the hippodrome and, at the announcement of his death, to massacre them, so that there should surely be mourning at his funeral. They were thus assembled, but Salome did not give the order for their murder. Herod went to an unlamented grave.

XXIII

THE HALF-CENTURY OF RULE BY THE HERODIAN FAMILY. 4 B.C. TO 44 A.D. (Josephus)

(515) It was ample testimony to the virtues of Herod as a political ruler that the two of his sons who ruled with some regard for the interests of their subjects maintained their hold for long reigns upon their dominions. No family could have held its place with any surer grasp, but the nation was too disunited to continue. Herod in his will gave Archelaus his royal title with Judea, Samaria and Idumea as his dominion. Herod Antipas was, as tetrarch, to govern Galilee and Perea. Herod Philip, as

tetrarch, was to rule over the northeastern territory. It was needful that this disposition be ratified by Augustus, who, after some demur, endorsed the will but gave Archelaus the title of ethnarch and took away some of his territory.*

(516) **The Weak and Disappointing Reign of Archelaus.** (4 B.C. to 6 A.D.) From the outset of the reign of Archelaus there was friction. He was barbarous, arbitrary and tyrannical, utterly unfitted to deal with the delicate problems of management in his realm. At last his people made out such a case against him to Augustus, that Archelaus was banished to Gaul and his dominion was annexed to the province of Syria.

(517) **Judea Ruled by Procurators.** (6-40 A.D.) During the youth and active ministry of Jesus, Judea was ruled by procurators. The procurator resided at Caesarea, had a small force of auxiliary troops, was paid from the imperial treasury, exercised supreme judicial authority and handled the finances. He was supposed to respect the prerogatives of the Sanhedrin, which was the highest court of Judaism, and to be in some sense subordinate to the Syrian legate. He meddled very little with internal affairs so long as the peace was kept and the taxes regularly paid, but paying taxes was abhorrent to a loyal Judean. Many waited impatiently for a Messianic manifestation, expecting it almost daily. They developed a party called the Zealots. The only procurator mentioned in the Gospels was the fifth, Pontius Pilate.

(518) **The Partly Successful Reign of Antipas.** (4 B.C. to 39 A.D.) Herod Antipas had a long reign of forty-three years. He was astute and crafty, ambitious and pleasure-loving. He was much like his father. He built the city of Tiberias as a capital and made it a wonder of the age. His passionate nature led him to covet and marry Herodias, his own half-sister and the wife of another man, a piece of wickedness for which John the Baptist openly reproved him, thereby losing his life. Jesus despised Herod (Luke 13:32) and would not notice

* For the final adjustment, see the map facing page 346.

him (23:9). During the last years of his life Herod was constantly in trouble and was finally deprived of his kingdom, which was given to his rival, Agrippa I.

(519) **The Happy Reign of Philip. (4 B.C. to 33 A.D.)** Herod Philip had the poorest territory of all, but his reign was a happy one for him and for his people. He ruled with justice and had no disturbances. He built Caesarea Philippi as his capital and enlarged Bethsaida.*

(520) **The Brief but Brilliant Reign of Herod Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.)** The last king of Palestine was Agrippa I, of whom we hear in Acts. His brief reign of three years was a golden day for Pharisaism. He respected the prejudices of the stricter Jews, although, in true Herodian fashion, he also patronized Greek games. He persecuted the Christians, putting James to death and imprisoning Peter (Acts 12:1-3). His sudden and horrible death (12:19-23) ended all real hope of a Jewish kingdom.†

XXIV

THE LAST TRAGIC QUARTER CENTURY OF A GLORIOUS NATIONAL LIFE. 44 TO 70 A.D. (Josephus)

(521) The Jewish people, dominated and directed by Pharisaic bigotry and short-sightedness and stirred by Messianic expectations, were in no condition to endure the outrages to which they were subjected by the seven procurators who quickly succeeded one another in the administration of Palestine after the death of Agrippa, his young son being regarded as too inexperienced for such responsibilities. They were fairly goaded into rebellion by the stupid brutality of these men of power, whose only ambition was to line their pockets.

Agrippa II, when twenty-one years of age, in 48 A.D. was given by Claudius the small kingdom of Chalcis, and, five years later, the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias with the title of King. To these dominions Nero added.

* For the relative territories of the procurators, Antipas and Philip, see the map facing page 346.

† For the dominions of Agrippa, see the map facing page 346.

He was "expert" in matters Jewish (Acts 25: 13 to 26: 32), but corrupt. He sided with the Romans, was rewarded by them and spent his last years in the imperial city.

(522) **The Seven Imperial Procurators. (44-6 A.D.)** The authority and responsibility of a procurator was just enough undefined to permit an unscrupulous one to wrong his subjects in a thousand ways, petty and serious. The seven were in succession: (1) Cuspius Fadus (44-45), a short-sighted blunderer; (2) Tiberius Alexander (45-48), an apostate, whom the people hated for that reason; (3) Cumanus (48-52), a very corrupt and cruel man; (4) Felix (52-60), a cruel and severe ruler; (5) Porcius Festus (60-62), a weak man; (6) Albinus (62-64), a plunderer; and (7) Gessius Florus (64-66), cruel, infamous and grasping. These rulers took no pains to study their Jewish charges. Their stupid blunders or wilful crimes fanned prejudice and fanaticism into flame.

(523) **The Refusal of the Jews to Honor the Emperor and their Defeat of Gallus, the Legate of Syria. (66 A.D.)** At last, exasperated beyond self-control by the insolence and greed of these Roman procurators, of whom Florus was the very worst, the people of Judea declared war in 66 A.D. by formally refusing to offer the daily sacrifice at the Temple for the emperor, a practice which they had faithfully observed for not less than half a century. It was a direct and public refusal of respect and defiance of authority.

During the first year, when the Jews had to deal only with the small Roman garrisons in Judea and with the army of Gallus, the legate of Syria, they gained several victories. They were not a unit, however. The extreme revolutionists fought the temporizers as readily as they attacked the Roman soldiers. But the menace of the vengeance of Rome ultimately drew them together.

(524) **The Gradual Mastery of Palestine by Vespasian and Titus. (67-70 A.D.)** Realizing the seriousness of the rebellion the emperor, Nero, ordered Vespasian, one of his most experienced and reliable generals, to go to Palestine and direct the campaign. He planned with wisdom

to subdue the country and make the capture of Jerusalem the closing event of his conquest. A year of fierce fighting gave him the undisputed mastery of Galilee. The next few months added the regions east of Jordan and south and west of Jerusalem. The death of the emperor Nero and the confusion in Italy delayed direct operations for nearly a year, until Vespasian himself had been chosen emperor (July 69) and placed on the throne of the Caesars. He appointed his son, Titus, to be the general of the forces in Judea. After a further delay, during which the Christians and such as took their friendly warnings escaped to Pella across the Jordan, and factionalism ran riot in Jerusalem, Titus advanced to attack the city. For over a year Jerusalem had been a scene of insane civil war to an extent almost unbelievable. The reverses of the Jewish forces in Galilee, commanded and controlled by the aristocratic Sadducean leaders, caused the Zealots, led by John of Gishcala, to assume control. The Sadduceans appealed to the citizens, whereupon the Zealots appealed to the Idumeans, with a consequent flowing of the best blood of Jerusalem for weeks. Finally the Sadduceans invited a certain Simon, a successful adventurer, to enter Jerusalem to protect them from John. The remedy was as bad as the disease. Three small hostile factions soon developed, one holding the inner court of the Temple which was well defended, another holding the Temple mountain and the third, under Simon's leadership, holding the city. The insane fury of their contention amounted to national suicide. Only after the siege began did these factions unite against their common foe.

Finally, in April 70 A.D., the Roman army began a siege which continued for five months. It was bitterly contested, foot by foot. When it was over, beautiful Jerusalem and the stately Temple were in ruins. With indomitable spirit the people fought on to the melancholy end. Masada, the last fortress to be starved into surrender in April A.D. 73, yielded no prisoners.

(525) **The Writings of this Quarter Century.** It is interesting to recall the fact that within this quarter

century the writings of the New Testament began to appear. Paul's fifteen years of active missionary service with the stirring letters through which he comforted, encouraged, educated and inspired his churches had come to an end before 65 A.D. The Gospel according to Mark had probably appeared before 70 A.D., the first interpretation in the form familiar to us of the life of Jesus. Of apocalyptic literature two books may have been in circulation which are usually ascribed to the first century A.D., the Secrets of Enoch and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The former contains a curiously elaborate explanation of the various heavens (Deut. 10: 14 II Cor. 12: 2), and discusses the millennium and existence after death. It illustrates the thinking of the average Jew of this century. The latter is a review of the dying commands of the sons of Jacob to their children, each reviewing his life and setting forth in view of its events certain moral principles. It has many details in common with the book of Jubilees (§ 500). Each book was the product of the nobler Judaism, and reveals the substratum of intelligent, loyal, truly religious people with which any student of this period must reckon. Quite possibly the Assumption of Moses, a review of world history from the time of Moses to the days of Pompey, ending with a picture of the end of the age and the blessed future, belongs to this period or earlier. Many such works must have been written to nerve or comfort the people.

XXV

THE EPILOGUE TO THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS: OBEDIENCE TO THE RABBINICAL LAW. 70 TO 135 A.D.

(526) Judaism, though overmastered and deprived of any control of Palestine, was neither destroyed nor wholly deprived of hope. The synagogue and the rabbi were greater unifying forces than Temple or city. The Jewish people were a religious unit all over the Roman empire. With the destruction of the holy city and the sanctuary went the Sanhedrin, the Sadduceans as a party, the

priesthood as leaders, and all national recognition of any sort. The one unifying influence was the Law and the one dominant purpose of all faithful Jews was the achievement of such exact obedience to it that God could once more bless His people and give the Messiah. Rabbinism was blind to the splendid historic fulfilment of Israel's expectations which Judea had already witnessed but ignored.

(527) **The Rabbinical Headquarters at Jamnia.** Meagreness of information prevents the historian from picturing accurately the conditions in Palestine for the half century or more after 70 A.D. Christianity had its active centers elsewhere. The vast majority of the Jews were to be found in the great commercial cities of the empire, in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and Egypt. Palestine was governed by a praetor. The Jews who chose to settle there were permitted to do so and allowed to follow their religious customs, but they were treated as direct subjects of Rome. Jamnia on the western side of the Philistian plain near Ashdod became a rabbinical center. A sort of high court or Sanhedrin was organized there, whose decisions became authoritative for Judaism everywhere.

(528) **The Authoritative Completion of the Old Testament.** It was at Jamnia at a formal council about 90 A.D. that the Old Testament as we have it today was formally pronounced complete by these recognized leaders of Judaism. Up to their time there had been questionings whether several books, such as Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, belonged in the sacred Canon. The decision of the Council was in favor of these books.

(529) **The Apocalypses of Ezra (Second Esdras) and Baruch.** These two books were written within this period. The first mentioned is to be found among the Apocrypha under the title of Second Esdras, but it is really an apocalyptic work. Of the sixteen chapters, the first and last pairs remind the reader occasionally of the Gospels (compare 1:30-33 with Matt. 23:37, 38; 2:13 with Matt. 25:34; 15:8 with Rev. 6:10 and 16:54 with Luke 16:15). These chapters rebuke Israel for her

rebelliousness and summon the Gentiles to enter into her inheritance. Chapters 3-14 are distinctly Jewish. They argue that God, though inscrutable, is surely working for the triumph of righteousness. Iniquity has its appointed limit. In due time the Anointed One shall reign, and Israel be gathered to Zion. Meanwhile, Ezra (14: 13) was to write out for the people, not only the recognized Scriptures, but seventy extra canonical books as well. The elaborate vision of the eagle (11, 12) alludes to the successive emperors of Rome, concluding with Domitian.

The Apocalypse of Baruch was much like that of Ezra. It purports to be written by Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah (§ 318), foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem and its subsequent restoration. It concludes with a letter from Baruch to the tribes in captivity. By analogy its hopeful views of the future helped to console and hearten the despondent Jews.

(530) The Rebellions of the Jewish Dispersion. (115-118 A.D.) During the imperial reigns of Titus (79-81 A.D.), Domitian (81-96 A.D.), Nerva (96-98 A.D.), and most of Trajan's long reign (98-117 A.D.) the Jews were treated with considerable rigor, and yet they flourished everywhere. With the attainment of vitality their national spirit broke out afresh. In the last years of Trajan their resolute maintenance of community individuality brought upon them such exactions that revolts broke out in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus and Mesopotamia. In Palestine the outbreak was retarded by the influence of the aged Joshua, the Taonite. This great uprising was finally quelled.

(531) The Rebellion in Palestine under Rabbi Akiba and Bar-Cochba. (132-135 A.D.) When the emperor Hadrian came to the throne, he at first listened to a plea of the Jewish people in Judea for permission to rebuild their Temple. Later on, becoming convinced of their disloyal spirit, he revoked this permission. This provoked a rebellion endorsed by a famous rabbi and led by the successor of Joshua, one Simon Bar-Cochba ("Son of a star"), who declared himself to be the antici-

pated Messiah. From all over the oriental world Jews flocked to his standard. Simon actually captured Jerusalem, proclaimed himself king, and struck coins to commemorate the event (132 A.D.). The war was bloody and the emperor relentless. Hadrian was so exasperated that he determined to erase the very name of Jerusalem from the map. On the site of the city he founded a Roman colony and erected a temple of Jupiter. Thus was absolutely concluded the history of the Hebrew people as an organized nation. For eighteen centuries Judaism has been no more than a racial and religious fellowship.

(532) **The Transfer of Judaism's Spiritual Task.** During these sixty-five years of impotency on Judaism's part and of her devotedness to ideals which had become barren and selfish, the greater mission of Judaism, the task of enlightenment and world redemption, was taken up by Christianity, which, as set forth in the writings of Paul, in Hebrews, in the Gospel of Matthew and in Revelation, regarded itself as the legitimate heir of Jewish hopes and policies. To his followers Jesus had taken the place of Temple, altar, ritual and priesthood; he had adequately fulfilled the real prophetic promises and expectations and was the true Messiah; he advocated and exemplified the true method of redemption through self-sacrifice and warfare against sin. The early Christians were slow to realize all this. It was the influx of extra-Jewish members into the Christian Church which led to a gradual clearing of views and to the writing of such catholic interpretations of the spirit of Christianity as the Gospels of Luke and John. In the unique personality of Jesus was the secret of the unity, the power and the permanence of the new expression of faith. It was universal and eternal because it accepted and interpreted loyally all that was central and permanent in the religion of Israel. Judaism was convicted of narrowness and destined to be laid aside, but the revelation of God's nature and will which Israel transmitted and the great truths of religion which her noble men had worked out were carried on into the fresher, more gracious and sufficient relationship expressed in Jesus.

(533) **The Significance of Hebrew and Jewish History to the World.** Notwithstanding this tragic close, the twenty centuries of Hebrew and Jewish history merit much honor. The race made permanent contributions of eternal value to the world of those days and of every age. These were contributions to religion. In other ways the Hebrews have shown capacity, but in religion they were supreme. Their contributions to the world's religious heritage may be summed up under five specifications. (1) *They made religion a great reality.* They gave it its proper place in the life of human beings, not as a convenience, not as a luxury, but as a deep and essential need for the enrichment and perfection of life. (2) *They developed the true and permanent conception of God as a moral personality.* This opened the way to monotheism, and to sonship. Other nations had ideas which are worthy of recognition, but Israel had the only adequate conception of God in His relations with the universe. (3) *They developed an impressive conception of the dignity of human personality.* Israel was the only nation which brought God and man together in a relationship which recognized human freedom and the possibility of God-likeness for men. (4) *They assigned to mankind a task which satisfies the cultured religious mind of today.* Organized Christianity is carrying out at the present time the ideals of Judaism's keenest and noblest minds. Judaism was not their ideal nor Rabbinism, but such a condition as that exhibited by real Christianity, aglow with its mission of world redemption and blessedness. (5) *They embodied their ideals in literary masterpieces.* From these, godly men and women will take comfort, courage and vision in all ages.

The more thoroughly the Old Testament is studied, the greater is the respect of the student for it. He finds noble and dignified conceptions expressed in fitting, oft-times in remarkable literary forms. There is nothing finer in universal literature than Job, Isaiah 40-66, Jonah, Ruth and many of the shorter passages in the historical, prophetic and wisdom books as well as many of the

psalms. Compared with other sacred literatures, that which was wrought out through the Hebrew people is in a class by itself. Interpreted historically, in full sympathy with the conditions which influenced it, it is increasingly to the faithful student a revelation of the very heart of God and of His gracious purpose to promote the task of proclaiming His goodness and love to the world until all mankind shall bow at His feet.

XXVI

**SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS IN REVIEW OF JEWISH HISTORY
FROM 400 B.C. TO 135 A.D.**

(534) 1. How did the Samaritan people originate as a distinct community? Why did the Jews from Babylonia refuse to worship with them? Trace the several factors which caused their permanent antagonism. When did they cease to be dangerous rivals of the Jews?

2. Out of the professionally influential classes in Hebrew community life: the court, the priesthood, the prophets, the sages and the scribes, which retained or gained influence in this age? Which class outlived in influence all the others?

3. How many women attained to recorded prominence among the Hebrews from the days of Sarah, the wife of Abraham to those of Alexandra, the Hasmonean queen? What was the position of women among the Hebrews as compared with their position generally among Oriental peoples?

4. Which portion of the Jewish race rendered during these centuries the more important service to humankind, those in Judea or those abroad? What were the great outside Jewish centers after the Maccabean age?

5. Contrast Judaism with Hellenism. Why was their antagonism necessary? Has it ever been overcome and how?

6. What was the historical justification of Judaism with all its exclusiveness and narrowness? What proof can be given of its sound, spiritual heart?

7. What political and social benefits came to the Jewish people out of Persian overlordship? What did Persia contribute to Jewish thinking? Of the Persian sovereigns after Darius who was on the whole most able and worthy?

8. To what three great powers were the Jewish people successively in subjection during these centuries? Did the Jews gain or lose thereby?

9. A writer has said that the Hasmonean kingdom existed because of the weakness of surrounding states rather than because of its own strength. Is this statement a fair explanation of the facts?

10. Of what advantage to Judaism was the Maccabean uprising and the subsequent independence?

11. What caused prophecy to give way in the popular mind to apocalyptical thought? What two Biblical books mark the beginning and almost the conclusion of this latter literary type? Mention three other important examples of apocalyptical literature.

12. What was the place of the scribe in organized Judaism? What religious institution of the exile did he control?

13. How long in the making was the Psalter? What important functions did it play in the religious life of Judaism? What accounts for its continuing power to all ages?

14. What prophetic writings fall within the limits of these centuries? Why should such a book as Joel or Isaiah 24-27 or Zechariah 9-14 be classified as prophecy rather than as apocalypse?

15. Aside from the wisdom psalms, what portions of the Old Testament classify as "Wisdom"? Compare Proverbs with the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes with the apocryphal Book of Wisdom. How did the latter in each case improve upon the former?

16. About what proportion of the Old Testament dates after 400 B.C.? By what stages was the Old Testament officially recognized as sacred? When was its content absolutely settled?

17. What great changes in the Old Testament as then known were made by the translators of the Septuagint?

18. Compare Alexander the Great with Cyrus in the ability he exhibited, his statesmanship and his value to the Jewish people.

19. In view of Hellenism's insidious and almost irresistible advances, felt even by Judaism, does it seem to one who resurveys the second century B.C. that the cruel persecutions of Antiochus were wholly injurious to Judaism?

20. Of the three forms of the Messianic expectation — the nationalistic, the catastrophic and the redemptive — which were prevalent in these centuries? Which did Jesus of Nazareth emphasize?

21. What strong and clear missionary notes were struck within the age?

22. It has been said that the growth of the two great parties in Judaism, the Pharisees and Sadducees, forever blocked Jewish advance and really opened the wide road to national ruin. If this is true, why was the usefulness of the Jewish people as a people ended thus?

23. Was the Herodian regime a calamity or an asset?

24. What historical reasons can be given for the refusal of the Jewish people to accept Jesus of Nazareth as their Messiah and for His condemnation?

25. As a matter of fact, did early Christianity continue and develop all of the finer and truer features of the religion of the Jewish people?

26. Which is entitled to be called the true Israel today, the Israel of the prophets and histories or the Israel of the apocalyptic writers, of the scribes and priests?

27. In their two thousand years of splendid history through how many revolutionary experiences did the Hebrew people pass? What were the distinctive and substantial possessions to which they always clung?

28. What was the great unifying, purifying and organizing force at work in Hebrew life from the beginning to the end?

29. What great religious inheritances came directly to Christianity from Judaism?

30. When the Judaism of Bar-Cochba's day became a religious fellowship, did the Hebrew people cease to be?

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

I

REFERENCES FOR THE TEACHER AND STUDENT

An acquaintance with the reference literature of Hebrew history is a great value to any student. To encourage his habit of looking up a more extended treatment of an interesting theme is wisdom on the part of the teacher. Attention is called below to some of the best untechnical literature available today. The books most frequently referred to are given abbreviations. Each group of references follows a number which corresponds to the number of the proper paragraph in the volume.

GENERAL BOOKS OF REFERENCE

- BGH. *Biblical Geography and History*. Kent, 1911.
 BArch. *Archaeology and the Bible*. Barton. Fourth edition, 1926.
 BHSA. *The Bible for Home and School*. Edited by Mathews. Various volumes.
 BLOT. *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. Bewer, 1922.
 BrHAE. *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*. Breasted. New edition, 1920.
 CambB. *The Cambridge Bible*. Various volumes.
 CamAncH. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 8 vols., 1923—.
 CentB. *The New Century Bible*. Various volumes.
 CrIntOT. *An Introduction to the Old Testament, Chronologically Arranged*. Creelman, 1917. Revised edition, 1927.
 Dum. *The One Volume Bible Commentary*. Edited by Dummelow, 1909.
 EncycBib. *The Encyclopedia Biblica*. Edited by Cheyne, 1903.
 ExposB. *The Expositor's Bible*. Many volumes.
 GASm Twelve. *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*. 2 vols. George Adam Smith, 1896. Revised edition about 1929.
 GMW. *The Greater Men and Women of the Bible*. Ed. by Hastings, 1914.
 GoodBA. *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*. Goodspeed, 1902.
 GrayOT. *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*. Gray, 1913.
 HastDB. *Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by Hastings. One vol. ed.
 HBi,ii, etc. *The Historical Bible*. Kent. In several volumes. *The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History*, 1908 (HBi); *The Founders and Rulers of United Israel*, 1908 (HBii); *The Kings and Prophets of Israel and Judah*, 1909 (HBiii); *The Makers and Teachers of Judaism*, 1911 (HBiv).
 HGHL. *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. George Adam Smith, 1894.
 HPM. *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*. McCurdy, 1911. One volume edition.
 IntCC. *The International Critical Commentary*. Many volumes.
 JC. *History of the Jewish Church*. Stanley, 3 vols.
 JastrowHBT. *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*. Jastrow, 1914.
 KentDK. *A History of the Hebrew People; The Divided Kingdom*. Kent.

- KentJP. *A History of the Jewish People; Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods.* Kent, 1909.
- LAI. *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel.* Fowler, 1912.
- LOT. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* Driver. Revised edition, 1913.
- McFadIsa. *Isaiah.* McFadyen, 1910.
- MessEPr or LPr or PPHist. Volumes dealing with the *Earlier Prophets*, the *Later Prophets* and the *Prophetic and Priestly Historians* of the series, "Messages of the Bible."
- OSBL. *Outlines for the Study of Biblical History and Literature.* Sanders and Fowler, 1906.
- PCom. *A Commentary on the Bible.* A. S. Peake, editor, 1920.
- PeoB. *The People and the Book*, 1925. A series of valuable studies, edited by Peake.
- RiggsJP. *A History of the Jewish People; Maccabean and Roman Periods.* Riggs, 1900.
- RogBA. *A History of Babylonia and Assyria.* Sixth edition revised. Rogers, 1915.
- SmJerus. *Jerusalem from the Earliest Times to A.D.70.* 2 vols., George Adam Smith, 1908.
- StandB. *The New Standard Dictionary of the Bible.* Rev. edition, 1926. Edited by Jacobus.
- StOTi,ii, etc. *The Student's Old Testament.* Kent. In several volumes. *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History*, 1903 (StOTi); *Historical and Biographical Narratives*, 1905 (StOTii); *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 1910 (StOTiii); *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, 1907 (StOTiv); *Songs, Psalms and Prayers*, 1914 (StOTv).
- Wade OTH. *Old Testament History.* Wade. Tenth edition, 1926.
- WildEvHP. *The Evolution of the Hebrew People.* Wild, 1917.
- WildGI. *Geographical Influences in Old Testament Masterpieces.* Wild, 1915.
- WoodBL. *The Bible as Literature.* Wood and Grant, 1914.

READING REFERENCES

- (2) Compare George Adam Smith's preface to the first volume of *Jerusalem*, or Kent's opening chapter in HBi.
- (11) HastDB "Apocrypha," 41-43, and "Greek Versions OT," 316-7; Smyth, *Bible in the Making*, 141-162 is full and clear, StandB "Apocrypha."
- (21) For a broader definition see BGH, 1-11, and the map facing p. 3; see also Wade OTH, 63, and HPM, 18, 19.
- (23) The first volume of RogBA makes a clear and ample study of the land, its early history, and of the explorations. Read pp. 401-459. Goodspeed HBA, 71-106 is more condensed. Johns in HastDB, 67-70 is greatly condensed, but reliable. Note also HBi, 5-10. McCurdy, HPM, is very useful for a broad survey.
- (24) BrHAE is a compactly written, but very clear and reliable, history of Egypt. Newberry and Garstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, 1904 is very brief, but good. Whatever Erman, Hall or Budge have written is worth studying. HBi, 10-12.
- (26) BGH, 19. HGHL, 3-41. GMWi, 158-163. WildGI, 1-23.
- (28) HBi, 18-21. HGHL, 5-7. HPM, 5.
- (30) Compare the fine section entitled "The History in the Literature,"

- in Robinson's "Religious Ideas of the Old Testament" (1913). Also for a choice and recent survey see in *The People and the Book* edited by Peake, 1925; ch. iv *The History of Israel* by Welch.
- (32) For a scholarly and helpful discussion of the origin of the ideas of these chapters, see Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, 1914; Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, 1890; Worcester, *Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, and Davis, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*. They are popular and good. A very helpful commentary is that by Driver (Westminster Comm). Skinner's *Genesis* (IntCC) is comprehensive, and Mitchell's (BHS) is handy, but almost too brief. Wade OTH, 37-39. James, *Creation Stories of Genesis*, 1927 deals suggestively with *Genesis* 1-4.
- (33-35) HBi, 36, 231-3; Wade OTH, 39-41; Driver *Gen*, 2; Hast DB, 165; JastrowHBT, 65-133.
- (36-38) HBi, 31-37; Wade OTH, 41-42; Driver *Gen*, 35-43, 57-60; Skinner *Gen* 51-71; GMWi, 8-10.
- (39-41) HBi, 37-42; Wade OTH, 48-53; Driver *Gen*, 44, 51-57; HastDB, 856.
- (42-44) HBi, 52-65; Wade OTH, 57-62; HastDB, 184-5; Driver *Gen*, 99-112; Skinner *Gen*, 174-181. For the pre-Mosaic religious life of the Hebrews see Paton *Early Rel. Isr.* 1-35.
- (45-47) HBi, 65-72; Wade OTH, 63-74.
- (48, 49) HastDB, 165; Driver *Gen*lxx.
- (51) This subject is discussed by Driver *Gen*liv-lxi; Wade OTH, 81, 82; HBi, 78; GMWi, 112; HPM, 961.
- (52) Fowler LAI, 75 quotes approvingly Professor Gardiner's high encomium in his *Bible as English Literature*, 37; HBi, 74.
- (54) Some interesting remarks about the route are quoted in GMWi, 153-7, and JCi, 1-9; PeoB, 121.
- (55) For descriptions of Ur and Haran see RogBAi, 429, 446; Driver *Gen*, 142; GMWi, 120-126; HBi, 76.
- (56) GMWi, 134-150 brings together interesting suggestions. JCi, 11-22; HBi, 77. MessagesPPHistorians 29. Skinner *Gen*xxvi-xxviii states the enduring basis of a confidence in Abraham.
- (57) Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, passim; HPM, 167-171.
- (59) JCi, 27; GMWi, 177-8; HBi, 77-8; HastDB, 554.
- (62) GMWi, 173-5, 234-243; HBi, 82-3.
- (63) HGHL, 504-510 and HBi, 87-90 discuss this theme thoroughly. See also Driver *Gen*, 202-3 and GMWi, 233.
- (65) Paton, *Early Hist Syria Pal* 25-46 regards the two names of Abraham as due to the fusion in tradition of two originally distinct persons. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896, is a standard authority on names. See also HastDB, 643-4; StandB, 570-2.
- (66) HBi, 92-4; Driver *Gen*, 216, 221-2; GMWi, 265-285; Mitchell *Gen*, 169; Cornill, *Culture Anc. Isr.* 9, 10.
- (67) HastDB, 5, 6; MessPPHist, 29, 30; GMWi, 112, 116; HPM, 959.
- (68) Note Skinner's remarks in *Gen*, 356-7; PeoB, 121f.
- (70) HBi, 99-101; JCi, 32-3; Skinner *Gen*, 339; GMWi, 389-394.
- (71) Driver *Gen*, 249; MessPPHist, 30; JCi, 46-48; HBi, 106; GMWi, 406-411.
- (73) Driver *Gen*, 255; Skinner *Gen*, 362; HastDB, 263; StandB, 254; Wade OTH, 156.
- (74) MessPPHist, 44, 31.

- (76) HBi, 112; GMWi, 412-417.
- (79) HBi, 113; Driver *Gen*, 209; GMWi, 418-9.
- (80) MessPPHist, 46-7; JCi, 57-59; Driver *Gen*, 296-7; HGHL, 583-4; HBi, 119.
- (81) JCi, 56-58; GMWi, 435-6.
- (82) HBi, 113-4; HastDB, 947-8 gives an excellent summary of Guthe's theory by Craig; StandB, 877; Paton *Arch. and Book Gen*.
- (83) Skinner *Gen*, 440; Driver *Gen*, 319-20; GMWi, 479-80; Fowler LAI, 103; HBi, 124, 141; HPM, 960.
- (85) For the composition of the narrative see PeoB, 153-163.
- (87) HBi, 149-150; GMWii, 15; Driver *Gen*, 347; Breasted HAE, 200. For the Amarna letters and their significance see SmJerusii, 6-14; HBi, 16, 17; HPM, 175-189. Winckler, *The Tel-El-Amarna Letters* translates them in full; Wild GI, 25-27; PeoB, 14, 122f.
- (88) HBi, 133.
- (90) GMWi, 509-515; HBi, 141-3, 146-7.
- (92) See remarks by Mitchell *Gen*, 339; Skinner *Gen*, 492, 3; Driver *Gen*, 365, xxxix in addenda; Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, 1906, 366-7.
- (93) For its discussion see Driver *Gen*, 379 ff; Skinner *Gen*, 507 ff, or any commentary.
- (94) MessagesPPHist, 31-2; Driver *Gen*, 400.
- (95) HBi, 148; Driver *Gen*, I, li; Skinner *Gen*, 440-442 states the case with full reserve as compared with Sayce or Orr.
- (96) Skinner *Gen*, xiv-xv.
- (99) HBi, 152-4; Breasted HAG, 301-326 gives a fine characterization of Ramses; HPM, 190-203 discusses the Hittites, 213-26 Assyria; Rogers BA, 6-16 and Goodspeed BA, 143-154 are important; PeoB, 124.
- (100) HBi, 154-5; Driver *Gen*, favors the longer estimate; GMWii, 15-16; Wade OTH, 98.
- (101) GMWii, 16, 19, 29-30; HBi, 155-7; Wade OTH, 99-100.
- (103) HBi, 158-9; MessPPHist, 52-4; GMWii, 30-47; Wade OTH, 101; Eilers' *Joshua*.
- (104) HBi, 159-161; GMWii, 51-55; Wade OTH, 102-4.
- (106) HBi, 168; Driver *Gen*, 402-409 "names of God"; HastDB, 299-300; StandB, 296-7; GMWii, 85-94; Wade OTH, 104; Burney, *Book of Judges*, 248, 251; PeoB, 225-233.
- (108) HBi, 166-7, 181; MessPPHist, 54.
- (109) HBi, 175-7; GMWii, 110-119; Wade OTH, 105-108.
- (110) HBi, 178; Wade OTH, 108; Gray, *Com on Numbers*, 404-7; StandB, 255-8; HastDB, 683-4; GMWii, 119-124; PeoB, 236, 330, 345.
- (111) HBi, 181; Wade OTH, 110; GMWii, 128-9 refers to Prof. Petrie's suggestion.
- (113) HBi, 182; Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea* discusses the situation fully; Kent BGH, 73-78.
- (114) HBi, 183; Wade OTH, 108-9; GMWii, 133-141.
- (115) HBi, 182-3; Wade OTH, 110.
- (119) HBi, 187-9; GMWii, 130-131; Ebers' *Joshua* CamAnch. ii, 362; PeoB.
- (120) Wade OTH, 112; GMWii, 154-8.
- (121) HBi, 188-9; GMWii, 167-176; Harper, *Bible and Modern Discoveries*, 105, 111, strongly urges the location of Sinai in the peninsula; but see BGH, 115-6. Robinson in Stand DB, 816, opposes and Macalister in HastDB, 863, does not support the new view. See CamAnch. ii, 360.

- (123) HBi, 187, 189; Wade OTH, 115.
- (124) Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, 1885 is still a classic. Robinson *Rel Ideas OT*, 186; PeoB, 227 ff.
- (125) HBi, 191-3; *Messages of Israel's Lawgivers*, 21-24; Paton *Early Rel. Israel*, 46-53 interestingly combines the various decalogues.
- (126) HBi, 191, 193-6; Wade OTH, 137-9; Woods in *HastDB*, 905-6, and Zenos in *StanDB*, 175 are good; Cornill, *Culture Ancient Israel*, 1914, 43-47, thinks that the second and fourth commandments could not have seemed binding to the Israel of Moses' day. But compare Jastrow's fine chapter on the Sabbath in *Heb. Bab. Trads*, 1914, in which he takes opposite ground. Kent *StOTiv*, 26-27 instances a number of pentads; Barnes in *Expositor*, July, 1924 makes a valuable summary of present conclusions.
- (127) HBi, 200-1; Wade OTH, 135-7; a fine study is made by McCurdy, *HPM*, 93-105.
- (129) See Robinson's remarks in *Rel Ideas OT*, 130-3; Wade OTH, 115, 139, 140; HBi, 209-10.
- (130) HBi, 207; BGH, 116-8; *HastDB*, 511; Trumbull, *Kadeshbarnea*, 1884, treats all questions relating to Kadesh.
- (131) HBi, 214-6; BGH, 118-120; Note *HPM*, 112; PeoB, 125-128, 327; *CamAncH*. ii, 365.
- (132) HBi, 221-2, 226; BGH, 120-3; *HGHL*, 557-562.
- (133) HBi, 222-4; *HGHL*, 565-6; *HastDB*, 80; *JCi*, 168-175.
- (135) *HGHL*, 565; *HastDB*, 632-5; Wade OTH, 132-3; *StanDB*, 561; Driver *Exodus* lxix; *JCi*, 180; Cornill *Culture Anc Isr*, 38-67.
- (136) *MessPPHist*, 58; HBi, 227-8; *GMWii*, 297-312; *HPM*, 92, 93.
- (139) Curtis *BHS Judges*, is an admirable commentary to use in connection with the reading of the Book of Judges; see particularly 9-13; *LOT* 160-171; *IntCC Judges*; *MessPPHist*, 121-126; *Dum*, 155-8; *HBii*, 3; Cooke *Judges*, xxiv-xxvii; Burney, C. F. *The Book of Judges*, 1918; PeoB, 125-135, Thatcher *Judges and Ruth* (Cent. B).
- (140) BGH, 13-63 is a thorough survey of the land. Smith *HGHL* 45-53 should be read. There are good articles in *StanDB*, 612-623 and *HastDB*, 672. See also Wade OTH, 165-7; Wild *GI*, 119-140.
- (141) Look up references under these names in *HPM*, *HastDB*, and *StanDB*. Note also HBi, 13-21; for the pre-Amorite period and the Amorite immigration see *GASJerusi*, 284-5; Paton, *Early Hist. Syria Pal.* ch. 1; Winckler, *Die Volker Vorderasiens* (Der Alte Orient i, Heft i).
- (142) *HPM*, § 182-4; Wade OTH, 169-170; *CamAncHii* is a storehouse of information regarding the history of these peoples.
- (144) *HBii*, 2-6, 11-13; Wade OTH, 170-2; BGH, 124-7; *JCi*, 208; *HBHL*, 267-8, 276; *GMWii*, 387-8.
- (145) Read McFadyen's comment in *MessPPHist*, 107-8 on the Deut. editor's idea of the Conquest. *HGHL*, 273-8, 659-662 and *HPM*, § 186, 473; *HBii*, 19, 20; BGH, 127-8.
- (146) *HBii*, 20-21; BGH, 129, *HGHL*, 210, 250; *HastDB*, 396; PeoB, 127-130.
- (147) *HBii*, 15; *GMWii*, 362-4, 407-410; Wade OTH, 190, 187.
- (148) *HGHL*, 85-90 is a classic passage; Wade OTH, 277-9; *HPM*, § 465-510 is very valuable; *HastDB*, 56, 411, 412, *GASJerusi*, 278-281 discusses the ultimate evils involved.
- (149) *HGHL*, 220, 473; BGH, 130; *HastDB*, 175; *HPM*, § 50, 62, 193.
- (151) *HBii*, 25-27; *JC*, 261-6; *HastDB*. 412; Wade OTH, 190-1.

- (153-4) HBii, 37-41; Wade OTH, 198-200; LOT, 171; Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah*, 1892, and CambB, *Judges*, 1913; HGHL, 391-7 BGH, 131-3; JCi, 279-299; GMW, 444-457; HPM, § 479.
- (156) HBii, 46-50; BGH, 136-8; HPM, § 189; Wade OTH, 200-4; JCi, 300-314; GMWii, 461-479.
- (157) HBii, 52-4; Wade OTH, 205-7; JCi, 315-320; GMWii, 483-494.
- (158) HBii, 60-2; BGH, 138-9; HPM, § 166, 192-4; Wade OTH, 320-330; GMWii, 497-520; Wild GI, 46-65 (very graphic); PeoB, 31, 386.
- (160) JCi, 268-70; Dum, 172-7; Wade OTH, 186-223; HPM, § 503-510 is a capital study of the social and civic life of a man like Boaz.
- (161) HPM, § 195; Kirkpatrick, CambB *Samuel*; StanDB, 768; HastDB, 214; JCi, 332-7.
- (162) HGHL, 389-90, 358; BGH, 129. Paton, *Early Rel. Israel*, 62-113; PeoB, 238-249.
- (164) Fowler LAI, 46-8 makes an interesting comparison between early English prose writing and that of Israel. Note also 210, 255, 308; Smith in HastDB, 823-5; HBii, 65-6; LOT, 172-183. For reading purposes and vivid comment Kirkpatrick's (CambB) commentary has never been surpassed although Kennedy's in the Century Bible is very fine.
- (165) Wade OTH, 213; MessPPHist, 139-142; StanDB, 768, 771; HastDB, 824; PeoB, 172-175.
- (167) HBii, 67; BGH, 138; HGHL, 169-198; Wade OTH, 169, 208-12; HPM, § 166, 192-195. CamAncHii, 283-295; Macalister, R. A. S. *The Philistines*, 1913; Stähelin, *Die Philister*, 1918.
- (168) HBii, 68-9; BGH, 140-1; HGHL, 223-6.
- (169) HBii, 73-4; Wade OTH, 218; HGHL, 211.
- (171) HBii, 75-6; BGH, 141-2; Wade OTH, 214-5; HPM, § 196; JCii, 3-8.
- (172) HBii, 74-5; Wade OTH, 287-9; Messages EProph, 6; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, lii-lviii, Kirkpatrick, *First Samuel* (CambB), introd.; Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet*, 27-72; HastDB, 413; Fowler LAI, 35; PeoB, 249-251.
- (173) HBi, 76; Wade OTH, 216-7; Messages PPHist, 141; JCii, 8-9.
- (175) HBi, 81-2; BGH, 144-5; Wade OTH, 218; JCii, 9-13.
- (176) HBi, 82; Wade OTH, 219-220; JCii, 13-14; Kirkp, *Samuel*.
- (177) HBi, 82-3; BGH, 145; Wade OTH, 220-1; HPM, § 197; StanDB, 774-5; HastDB, 397. Note also HPM, § 517.
- (180) HastDB, 492; Wade OTH, 226-8; HBi, 97-8; JCii, 11, 12, 22.
- (182) HastDB, 177-8; HBi, 89-92.
- (183) HastDB, 178; HPM, § 197; Wade OTH, 229-233; BGH, 149-151; HBi, 98; HGHL, 229-30, 270, note 2, 306-7.
- (185) HBi, 112-4.
- (186) Wade OTH, 235; HGHL, 400-403; HBii, 118-9; BGH, 151-2, HPM, § 198; PeoB, 132-3.
- (187) HGHL, 404-5; Fowler LAI, 37-9; HBii, 119; Dum, 196; JCii, 31-3.
- (188) HBii, 126-7; BGH, 153-4; HPM, § 203; HastDB, 4, 468; StanDB, 4.
- (189) HBii, 120; Wade OTH, 236-8; Fowler LAI, 35-6; JCii, 30-31; PeoB, 133.
- (192) HBii, 131-2; BGH, 153-156; Wade OTH, 245-6, HPM, § 204; HGHL, 229, 218.
- (193) HBii, 132-3; BGH, 157ff; GASJerusi, introd. 3-28 (a graphic description), 142-3; 250-259 (name), 108, 140, 144-154 (details), ii, 26-32, 47; JCii, 66-81; Wade OTH, 246-8; HPM, § 204; HGHL, 319-20; PeoB, 133-4.

- (194) HBii, 133-4; GASJerusii, 32-38; JCii, 75-6; PeoB, 134.
- (195) HBii, 133; GASJerusii, 38-39; Wade OTH, 248; JCii, 68-71; PeoB, 247, 257.
- (197) HBii, 145; BGH, 157-160, 13; JCii, 82-88; Wade OTH, 250-7; HGHL, 260; HPM, § 204, 552.
- (198) HBii, 144, 133-4; JCii, 76-82; Wade OTH, 258-262; GASJerusii, 52; HPM, § 205, 518-520.
- (199) HBii, 138-140; Wade OTH, 249-50, 275-6. For a sane and full discussion see Creelman *Introd. O.T.*, 68-72.
- (200) See Fowler's characterization in LAI, 61-65, and Driver's in LOT, 183; GASJerusii, 48 and Budde's remark in the footnote.
- (201) HBii, 150-152; JCii, 89-94; Wade OTH, 262.
- (202) HGHL, 579-80; HBii, 157-9, 173-5; BGH, 160-1; JCii, 95-111.
- (203) Wade OTH, 289-293; JMPSmith *Prophets and Their Times*, 1925, pp. 8-11; T. H. Robinson, *Prophecy and the Prophets*, 1923, p. 147f.
- (205) Wade OTH, 271-2; HBii, 179-180; BGH, 161-2; JCii, 144-8; GASJerusi, 180 (for Gihon and Rogel).
- (206) Wade OTH, 272; HBii, 180.
- (207) Wade OTH, 272-6; HBii, 180-182; JCii, 120-1; HastDB, 179; StanDB, 173-4; GASJerusii, 47; Battenhouse, *The Bible Unlocked*, 1928, 129-133.
- (208) Fowler LAI, 257-8; MessagesPPHist, 178-80; LOT, 189-193.
- (210) GASJerusii, 49-52; Wade OTH, 294-6; HBii, 189-191; PeoB, 135; Battenhouse, pp. 135-6.
- (211) GASJerusi, 345-9; ii, 52-3; Wade OTH, 306-8; JCii, 162-4; HBii, 189-90; StanDB, 821.
- (212) HBii, 205-6; Wade OTH, 304-5; JCii, 164-7; GASJerusii, 57-72 works out full details; StanDB, 822.
- (213) HBii, 206; BGH, 162-3; Wade OTH, 297; JCii, 167-70; GASJerusi, 343; HGHL, 270, note 2.
- (215) HBii, 198-9; BGH, 164; GASJerusi, 351-3; StanDB "Temple," 848-9 (well illustrated); HastDB, 898.
- (216) HBii, 199; Wade OTH, 300-302; JCii, 174-180; StanDB, 849-50; HastDB, 898-9.
- (217) HBii, 199-200; Wade OTH, 302-3; StanDB, 850-3; HastDB, 899-900.
- (218) HBii, 201-2; JCii, 180-192; GASJerusii, 72-80 is of great value; HGHL, 488 (foundries); HastDB, 869-900.
- (220) GASJerusi, 324, 328, 354-60; HBii, 206-7; Wade OTH, 298-300, 305; HPM, § 206; HGHL, 580; StanDB, 822; HastDB, 869.
- (221) HBii, 207-8; JCii, 211-4; HastDB, 869.
- (222) HBii, 208; Wade OTH, 308; HPM, § 206, 209.
- (223) For an interesting review of Solomon's work see Battenhouse, *The Bible Unlocked*, 135-145.
- (224) Wade OTH, 309-11; BGH, 164-6; JCii, 215; GASJerusii, 49-52, 80-82; HPM, § 206; Kent's whole chapter in *The Divided Kingdom*, 1897, is worth reading as a review; StanDB, 822-3; HastDB, 869-870.
- (227) HPM, § 216 and note 6, pp. 409-411; StOTii, 492-4 (very clear statement); Wade OTH, 317-321; Kent *Divided Kingdom*, 12-15.
- (228) HBii, 3, 4; Kent DK, 3-7; StOTii, 3-7; LAI, 257-260; Wade OTH, 9, 10; LOT, 185-9; Skinner, *I and II Kings*, 1906 (Cent. B).
- (229) Curtis *Chronicles* (IntCCom); StOTii, 7; LAI, 303-6; HastDB, 131-2; StanDB, 124-6.

- (230) Kent DK, 11, 58-60; Rogers BA, vol. i; GoodBA, 32.
- (231) HBiii, 4, 5; Kent DK, 16-23; Wade OTH, 310-313; HastDB, 399; HPM, § 206, 208, 511-529; BGH, 165-7; JCii, 231; PeoB, 135-7; Battenhouse, *The Bible Unlocked*, 150-152.
- (232) HBiii, 7, 119; Kent DK, 24, 25; Wade OTH, 321-2; HPM, § 210, 272-8; BGH, 167-8; HGHL, 331; JCii, 235-6; SmJerusii, 83.
- (235) HPM, § 979, 1357; JCii, 239-40; SmJerusii, 86-7; HBiii, 6.
- (236) HBiii, 120; Wade OTH, 323-5; HPM, § 210.
- (237) HBiii, 120; Wade OTH, 326-8; HPM, § 211, 215.
- (238) Wade OTH, 329.
- (239) HBiii, 13, 14; Wade OTH 329; BGH, 168-170, 70-72; HGHL, 345-7; SmJerusii, 93-4; JCii, 242-3.
- (241) HBiii, 14; Wade OTH, 330; HPM, § 212-3, 216-220; RogBAii, 46-71; GoodBA, 187-202; HastDB, 400; StOTii, 294-6; BArch, 363-5.
- (242) HBiii, 15-17; Wade OTH, 400; JCii, 244-7; BGH, 171.
- (243) SmJerusii, 96-99; Wade OTH, 331; JCii, 332-8.
- (244) HPM, § 912-924, 927, 931-4; LAI, 46-86; SmJerusii, 95; BLOT, 60-73.
- (246) HBiii, 25, 26; LAI, 90-93; Wade OTH, 336-9; MessPPHist, 198-201.
- (247) Kent DK, 62-4; Wade OTH, 400-402; HPM, § 214, 295-7; HastDB, 761; MessEPr, 3-10; Smith *Prophet and His Problems*, 3-58; Robinson, T. H., *Prophecy and the Prophets*, 1923.
- (248) BGH, 172; KentDK, 51-53; HGHL, 337-341; HBiii, 26-7; Wade OTH, 335; JCii, 249-261.
- (249) BGH, 172; HBiii, 27-29; JCii, 261-9; HPM, § 982-3; Wild GI, 66-79; Battenhouse BU, 156-159; PeoB, 260-3.
- (250) HBiii, 36-38; HPM, § 213; Wade OTH, 335, 337, 400; HastDB, 468.
- (251) Kent DK, 70-71; Good BA, 212-222; RogBA, 72-91; HBiii, 35, 36; CamAncHiii, 18-26.
- (252) HBiii, 28, 48; Wade OTH, 341-3; JCii, 276-281; HGHL, 581-2; MessPPHist, 207-212.
- (253) HBiii, 48-50; Kent DK, 65-9; BGH, 174-6; Wade OTH, 344-7; JCii, 282-291; HastDB, 431; Battenhouse, BU, 159-161; PeoB, 264-5.
- (256) HBiii, 51-3; Kent DK, 71-3; JCii, 292-300; HPM, § 244-6, 252.
- (257) HBiii, 121; Wade OTH, 348; JCii, 338; SmJerusii, 100-2.
- (258) Kent DK, 120-1; Wade OTH, 349; JCii, 339-342; SmJerusi, 102-6.
- (259) Kent DK, 121-2; Wade OTH, 350; JCii, 342-7; SmJerusii, 106-112.
- (261) HBiii, 123; SmJerusii, 108-113.
- (262) HBiii, 122-3, 126-7; Wade OTH, 355-7; JCii, 371-9; SmJerusii, 117-125; HPM, § 268-9, 306, 308; PeoB, 262.
- (263) HBiii, 51-53; BGH, 176; Wade OTH, 353-4; JCii, 307-12; HPM, § 262-6.
- (264) HBiii, 121-2; LAI, 96-104; LOT, 118, 122-5; HPM, § 926, 928, 930; MessPPHist, 5-26; StOTi, Introd.; BLOT, 74-86.
- (265) HBiii, 105; Kent DK, 76-7, 98-9; BGH, 176; SmJerusii, 125-6; HPM, § 635-8, 307-8, 310-11; CamAncHiii, 232ff.
- (268) Wade OTH, 321; SmJerusii, 148, 180; Kent DK, 59, 60, 117-9; HPM, § 635-8.
- (269) A capital commentary on Amos, Hosea and Micah is that by Prof. J. M. P. Smith (BHS, 1914). W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (IntCCom, 1905); Driver, *Joel and Amos* (CambB, 1897); Horton in *Minor Prophets* (CentB, two vols, 1904); and G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve*, vol. i (ExposB, 1896) are excellent. Note also MessEPr, 23-44; HBiii, 57-79.

- (270) HBiii, 58-60; JMPSmith *Amos*, 7, 8; MessEPr, 23-28; GAS *Twelve i*, 73-120; BGH, 177-8.
- (271) McFadyen *A Cry for Justice* (Short Course Series) is an admirable study of the message of Amos; HPM, § 867, 264, 302-4; LOT, 313-8; LAI, 105-119; JMPSmith, *Amos*, 8-12; MessEPr, 29-44 paraphrases the message; HBiii, 61-79; GASm *Twelve i*, 121-207.
- (272) HBiii, 83, 94; JMPSmith, *Hosea*, 71-75; GASm *Twelve i*, 24-226.
- (273) HBiii, 84-86; JMPSmith *Hosea*, 75-82; id. *Prophet and His Problems*, 1914, 109-136; GASm *Twelve i*, 227-252; BGH, 178-180.
- (274) HBiii, 86-102; LAI, 119-129; MessEPr, 47-76; JMPSmith *Hosea*, 83-85; GASm *Twelve i*, 253-354.
- (276) HBiii, 105-7; BGH, 180-181; JCii, 312-320; HPM, § 267, 306-7, 310, 316, 331-2, 342-353.
- (277) HBiii, 107-111; JCii, 321-4; HPM, § 360-364.
- (278) HBiii, 105-7; RogBAii, 137-156; GoodBA, 240-246; CamAncHiii, 32-60.
- (281) HBiii, 136-7; MessEPr, 84-6; HastDB, 387-392. McFadyen *Isaiah* (BHS, 1910) is a choice commentary for the average reader. Whitehouse *Isaiah* (2 vols. Cent B, 1908) is especially good for the historical setting. Skinner *Isaiah* (2 vols. Camb. B, 1905) is equally strong in interpretation. G. A. Smith *Isaiah* (2 vols. Expos. B., 1896) is generally illuminating. The revised edition, 1928, is far superior to the original. PeoB, 180-1; Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, 1928, 98-104.
- (282) HBiii, 127-130; MessEPr, 86-8; LAI, 140-2; JCii, 383-9.
- (283) HBiii, 137-141, 146-150; HPM, § 318-324; MessEPr, 88-96; LAI, 143-150; SmJerusii, 132-141.
- (285) HBiii, 146-150; HPM, § 639-641, 325-330; MessEPr, 96-107; LAI, 150-1; SmJerusii, 125-130, 144-7.
- (288) HBiii, 157-8; RogBAii, 169; HPM, § 649-659; GoodBA, 248-250; SmJerusii, 138, 148-150, 179-180.
- (289) HBiii, 165-9; MessEPr, 111-122; JMPSmith, *Micah*, 157-164, 165-8; PeoB, 276.
- (290) GoodBA, 265-283; RogBAii, 183-215; CamAncHiii.
- (291) HBiii, 158; MessEPr, 135-7; RogBAii, 191-202.
- (292) HBiii, 158-9; MessEPr, 145-156.
- (295) HBiii, 159-161; MessEPr, 163-7; HPM, § 680-685.
- (296) HPM, § 685-8; RogBA, 200.
- (297) HBiii, 176-8; MessEPr, 167-9; HPM, § 698-704.
- (298) HBiii, 179-181; SmJerusii, 142, 224-6; JCii, 410-2; HPM, § 796, 732.
- (299) HBiii, 169-170; HPM, § 796; SmJerusii, 175-7; JCii, 400-1.
- (300) McFad *Isa*, 2, 180-216; MessEPr, 122-130; HastDB, 614; LAI, 165-191.
- (301) HBiii, 179-181; McFad *Isa*, 8-13; HastDB, 386-7.
- (302) SmJerusii, 178-180; HPM, § 791-5.
- (303) HBiii, 181; MessEPr, 126; LAI, 166-9; HPM, § 1006-7.
- (304) LAI, 169-174; Robinson *Relig. Ideas* O.T., 223; JMPSmith, *Prophet and His Problems*, 137-167; Wade OTH, 422-436; HBiii, 190; PeoB, 208-210; 371-5.
- (305) PeoB, 143-4, 276-9.
- (307) HBiii, 188-9; Wade OTH, 373-4; RogBA, 216-245; GoodBA, 284-301; HPM, § 745-762; CamAncHii, 15.
- (308) HBiii, 186; Wade OTH, 373, 375; Kent DK, 159-162; SmJerusii, 181-190; BGH, 188; JCii, 420-4; HastDB, 576.

- (309) HBiii, 187; LAI, 176; SmJerusii, 190-195; Wade OTH, 437.
- (310) LAI, 203-211; HastDB, 350; StOTi, *Introd.* HPM, § 935 dates JE about 700 B.C.; note BLOT, 85-6 for a clear explanation.
- (313) HBiii, 313; RogBA, 246-282; GoodBA, 302-319; HPM, § 763-790, 816-819; JMPSmith, *Zephaniah* (Int.CCom, 1911), 159-162.
- (314) HBiii, 196-7; GoodBA, 323; SmJerusii, 228-9, 234-5; HPM, § 809-15; Breasted HAE, 387-403; JMPSmith, *Zephaniah*, 163; CamAnchH, vol. iii; PeoB, 144.
- (315) HBiii, 195-6; Wade OTH, 376; HPM, § 835-841; GASmith, *Twelveii*, 199-202.
- (316) HBiii, 196-8; HPM, § 814, 380, 1138; Driver, *Zephaniah* (New Cent. B); GASmith, *Twelveii*, 35-74; MessEPr, 187-197; JMPSmith, *Zephaniah*.
- (318) HastDB, 435-6; HBiii, 250-4; LOT, 249, 271-2; LAI, 214; HPM, § 1082, note: GASmith, *Jeremiah* (1924); Robinson, T. H., *Prophecy and Prophets* (1923).
- (319) HBiii, 206-7; HastDB, 434; LAI, 192-4; LOT, 250; MessEPr, 205-6; BGH, 188-189; GASmJerusii, 228; Wade OTH, 376; Sm *Jeremiah*, 66-88.
- (320) HastDB, 434; HBiii, 207-9; LAI, 194-9; LOT, 250-253; MessEPr, 206-216; HPM, § 1085-7; SmJerusii, 233-239; *Jeremiah*, 89-134.
- (322) HBiii, 214; HPM, § 839-845; SmJerusii, 199-200.
- (323) HBiii, 214; Jordan, *Deuteronomy* (BHS, 1911), 11-13; JCii, 427-8; HPM, § 846-851; SmJerusii, 201-5.
- (324) LAI, 176-8; SmJerusii, 205-8; HBiii, 215-6; StOTiv (useful for any comparative study of the codes); McFadyen MessPPHist, 87-99; PeoB, 199-204 (discussing a new theory of Deuteronomy); Bewer LOT, 121-135 (very helpful outline).
- (325) LAI, 178-189; SmJerusii, 208-220; Driver, *Deuteronomy*; Jordan, *Deut.* *Introd.*; HBiii, 216-236.
- (326) LAI, 251-261; HPM, § 865-945; LOT, 102-4, 164, 185, 274.
- (328) HBiii, 214-5; HPM, § 852-863, 1019; PeoB, 278.
- (329) HBiii, 243-4; HPM, § 1027.
- (330) SmJerusii, 223-226; *Jeremiah*, 134-161; LAI, 199-201; HPM, § 1020-1026, 1069-70.
- (331) HBiii, 190; MessEPr, 173-183; LAI, 201-2; LOT, 334-7; JMPSmith, *Nahum* (IntCCom, 1911); HPM, § 8 31-3.
- (332) HPM, § 820-828, 1045-1052; RogBAii, 283-295; GoodBA, 320-330; Wade OTH, 379; C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, 1923.
- (336) HPM, § 1027-1037; Breasted HAE, 404-5; StOTiii, 191; HBiii, 244.
- (337) HPM, § 1038-1040; HBiii, 244-5; SmJerusii, 246; BrHAE, 405-7; Wade OTH 380. To note strategic position of Riblah see special map facing p. 73 in BGH and read p. 80.
- (338) HBiii, 245; SmJerusii, 224-6, 239-40; LAI, 214-6.
- (339) For the arrangement of Jeremiah's prophecies during this perplexing period consult Kent StOTiii, 191-217; HBiii, 245-7; Wade OTH, 382; LAI, 213-8; PeoB, 279-282; Sm *Jeremiah*, 177-194.
- (341) JCii, 455; HBiii, 263-4; Wade OTH, 380.
- (342) HastDB, 322 is very helpful; MessEPr, 219-226; LOT, 337-340; HBiii, 264-5; HPM, § 1128-1139, 1172; LAI, 220. GASm, *Twelveii*, 115-159; Driver, *Habakkuk* (NewCentB, 1906); Ward, *Habakkuk* (Int. CCom., 1911).
- (344) HastDB, 649; HBiii, 265-7; RogBA, 316-8; GoodBA, 347-9.

- (345) HBiii, 267; KentDK, 190-192; HastDB, 404.
 (346) MessEPr, 243-262; StOTiii, 226-9; SmJeremiah, 195-231.
 (348) HBiii, 268; JCii, 461; KentDK, 192-3.
 (349) HBiii, 268-9; KentDK, 190-194; SmJerusii, 246-7; JCii, 460-4; HastDB, 404.
 (351) HPM, § 1148-1155; Wade OTH, 385; JCii, 440-3.
 (352) HBiii, 289-291; JMPSmith, *Prophet and His Problems*, 59-86; JCii, 442-6; SmJeremiah, 245-266.
 (354) HastDB, 251; LAI, 234; LOT, 278-286.
 (355) HBiii, 275-6; HastDB, 251; LAI, 233; JCii, 482-93; MessLPr, 19-28.
 (356) HBiii, 276-7; LAI, 235-7; MessLPr, 28-31.
 (357) HBiii, 277-9; LAI, 234, 237-9; MessLPr, 35-60; HPM, § 1174-1206; PeoB, 282-5.
 (360) HPM, § 1207-1217; HBiii, 291-2; Wade OTH, 384-5; SmJerusii, 251.
 (361) HPM, § 1218-1222; HBiii, 292; SmJerusii, 251-2.
 (362) HPM, § 1223-4; HBiii, 292; Wade OTH, 385; JCii, 467.
 (363) HPM, § 1225-6; HBiii, 293; JCii, 469; SmJerusii, 253; *Jeremiah*, 286, 293-307, 350-380; Bewer LOT, 165.
 (364) HPM, § 1227-1233; HBiii, 301; Wade OTH, 386; JCii, 469-71; SmJerusii, 254.
 (365) HPM, § 1234-1236; HBiii, 302; JCii, 471-4.
 (367) MessEPr, 173-296 covers the whole ground. Kirkpatrick's *Doctrine of the Prophets* is helpful and Jordan's *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals*. See also PeoB, 279-282.
 (368) For this comparison read Barton's fine article in HastDB, 413-4.
 (369) LAI, 175-232 may be wisely reviewed at this point. With regard to the Psalter see StOTv, which freshly and thoroughly traverses its history; Bewer LOT, 214-233.
 (372) HastDB, 132.
 (373) HastDB, 176; LOT, 511.
 (374) For a strong defense of the generally accepted order of events see GASm, *Twelveii*, in 198-221 and *Jerusii*, 295-300; for an opposing view see HBiv, 38-40 and Kent HistJP, 101-111, 126-136. Professor Charles C. Torrey in *Ezra Studies*, 1910, made a brilliant and original study of the book of Ezra, concluding that it is little better than romance and unreliable as history. The commentaries by Batten (IntCCom, 1913) and by Ryle (CambB, 1900) are very good. Note also Hast DB, 393, 254, 651; MessPPHist, 314-318.
 (375) HPM, § 1263-7; HBiv, 5; Wade OTH, 452-3.
 (378) SmJerusii, 266-271; HastDB, 405; HBiv, 7-12; BGH, 194-9; PeoB, 39, 217-8, 294.
 (379) BHiii, 303-4; HastDB, 284; HPM, § 1240-1250; Wade OTH, 387-8.
 (380) HPM, § 1252-7; Wade OTH, 388-9.
 (381) HBiii, 304-7; HPM, § 1258-1262; Bewer LOT, 166-7; SmJeremiah, 3-7.
 (382) HastDB, 252a; LAI, 242-7; Davidson, *Ezekiel* (CambB); Skinner, *Ezekiel* (ExposB); PCom. 501ff.
 (383) HBiv, 5-7; HPM, § 1236-9; KentJP, 11-13, 62; SmJerusii, 271-283; LAI, 247-250; LOT, 456-465; HastDB, 527; Peters, *Hebrew and Christian Literature* has a capital translation of these poems; also StOTv, 18-21, 73-82.
 (386) HBiv, 18-20; Wade OTH, 389-392; BGH, 197-8; HPM, § 1272-1349, a very elaborate and valuable study.

- (387) LAI, 239-241; HBiv, 20-22; MessLPr, 99-108; Skinner, *Ezekiel* (ExposB); Davidson, *Ezekiel* (CamB); PCom, 515-7.
- (388) HPM, § 1344-5; LAI, 241; HBiv, 22-23; StOTiv, 182 gives an illuminating diagram, illustrating Ezekiel's scheme of allotment; Davidson's *Ezekiel* (CambB) also has excellent diagrams; StanDB, 854 illustrating the temple; MessLPr, 111-128; PCom, 517-521.
- (389) HBiii, 265-7; HPM, § 1052, 1364-8; RogBA, 316-353.
- (391) HPM, § 1147; KentJP, 66; RogBA, 354-5.
- (392) HPM, § 1350-1363; HBiv, 27, 28; LAI, 233-261; HastDB, 405.
- (393) HPM, § 1362; HBiv, 28-30; LOT, 47-59, 145-152; HastDB, 356; StOTiv, 36-42; Bewer LOT, 183-188.
- (394) HBiv, 30-32; KentJP, 66-72; HPM, § 1364-72; GoodBA, 349-368; RogBAii, 354-368.
- (395) HBiv, 32-3; KentJP, 72-76; HPM, § 1373-89; HastDB, 173; JCiii, 47-49; GoodBA, 368-372; RogBAii, 368-373.
- (398) KentJP, 6-7, 77-8; HPM, § 1450-4; LAI, 262-6; McFadIsa, 108-119, 143-8; MessLPr, 137-145; Bewer LOT, 189-199.
- (399) HPM, § 1405-7; LAI, 266; HBiv, 60-3; McFadIsa, 247-249; MessLPr, 149-154; Wood BL, 80; Bewer LOT, 200-213.
- (400) HPM, § 1408-11; LAI, 267-272; HBiv, 63-4; MessLPr, 160-179.
- (401) LAI, 272-4; HBiv, 99-104, 72; McFadIsa, 252-6; Robinson, *Rel. Ideas OT*, 176; MessLPr, 155-160.
- (402) HBiv, 100; McFadIsa, 319-353; MessLPr, 180-193.
- (403) LAI, 274-7; HPM, § 1465; McFadIsa, 249-252.
- (405) LAI, 277; HBiv, 30-2; GoodBA, 372-6; RogBA, 373-381.
- (406) HPM, § 1412-1420; HBiv, 32-4; SmJerusii, 294-8; JCiii, 74-81; StOTii, 339-342; Xenophon's *Cyropedia*.
- (407) HBiv, 34; Wade OTH, 465-8; for a close and vivid study of the remainder of the postexilic period from a conservative standpoint see Hunter, *After the Exile*, 2 vols., 1900; SmJerusii, 299; JCiii, 82-88.
- (408) HBiv, 34; Wade OTH, 468; SmJerusii, 299; JCiii, 88-90.
- (410) SmJerusii, 300; KentJP, 137-8; HBiv, 41; *Persia* (Story of Nations); Ebers, *The Egyptian Princess* is a romance founded on the facts mentioned in this paragraph; Hunter, *After the Exile* describes the period well; CamAncHiv, 23, 173-181 testifies that Egyptian sources indicate that Cambyses established Persian rule in Egypt for a generation.
- (412) HBiv, 51; CamAncHiv, 173-201 by G. B. Gray describes the reorganization clearly and amply.
- (413) SmJerusii, 300-2; LOT, 343-4; KentJP, 139-143; HBiv, 41-2; LAI, 278; MessLPr, 197-212; Bewer LOT, 234-6.
- (414) LOT, 344; HBiv, 49; MessLPr, 323-326; Barnes, *Hag., Zech. and Mal.* (CentB), 1910; PCom, *Zechariah*.
- (415) LOT, 344-6. KentJP, 144-151; HBiv, 49-52; LAI, 278-280; MessLPr, 212-233; BLOT, 236-242.
- (417) KentJP, 148-9; HBiv, 42; Read the article "Darius the Great" in any good encyclopedia, especially the last edition of the *Brittanica*.
- (418) SmJerusii, 305-310; StanDB, 854-5; HastDB, 900-901. An idea of the general arrangement of the Second Temple may be had by reference to the diagram at end of Dummelow's commentary.
- (419) HBiv, 42-3; SmJerus, 310-3.
- (420) KentJP, 148-9; HBiv, 51-2; SmJerusii, 313-6.
- (421) See Wade's long summary in OTH, 491-511.

- (422) For a complete discussion of these Psalter problems see StOTv; LAI, 283-6; BLOT, 340, ff.; CrIntOT, 224-234.
- (423) SmJerusii, 331-4; JCiii, 121-3 (calls attention to Ezra's ultimate fame); BLOT, 280-282; CrIntOT, 327-9.
- (426) HBiv, 60; MessLPr, 237-8; SmJerusii, 315; *Persia* (History of Nations); CamAncHiv, 173-184; 212-346; vi, 1-3.
- (427) HBiv, 70; HastDB, 203; Haskins and Libbey, *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 2 vols., 1905; Wild GI, 36, 107; PeoB, 427.
- (428) LAI, 250; MessLPr, 63-72; KentJP, 26, 10; StOTiii, 399-401; Bewer, *Obadiah* (IntCCom, 1911); Horton, *Obadiah* (NewCentB); GASmith, *Twelveii*, 163-184.
- (429) SmJerusii, 317, 321-4; HBiv, 123-4; LAI, 280-283; MessLPr, 252-285; McFadyen, *Isaiah*; Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, supports the one writer theory vigorously.
- (430) GASm. *Twelveii*, 331-372; HBiv, 70-72; LAI, 287-290; MessLPr, 237-252; JMPSmith, *Malachi* (IntCCom, 1912); Driver, *Malachi* (NewCentB).
- (432) SmJerusii, 325-9; HBiv, 112; LAI, 290-2; KentJP, 110; Ryle, *Ez. and Neh.*; Batten, *Ez. and Neh.*; PeoB, 293-4.
- (433) SmJerusii, 335iii; HBiv, 112-3; JCiii, 109-111; KentJP, 167-170; BGH, 200; Hunter, *AE* is very vivid and readable.
- (434) SmJerusii, 335-9; HBiv, 113-116; JCiii, 111-115, 118-120; KentJP, 171-6; BGH, 201-5.
- (435) SmJerusii, 348-9; HBiv, 116; JCiii, 115; KentJP, 178-181; Hunter, *AE*.
- (436) SmJerusii, 339-343; HBiv, 123-6; JCiii, 117; KentJP, 182-192.
- (437) HBiv, 117, 126; JCiii, 121; KentJP, 192-4; BGH, 205; Compare Hunter, Ryle and Batten.
- (439) SmJerusii, 329-331, 343-4; HBiv, 130-3; HastDB, 253; Hunter, *After the Exile*; JCiii, 101-103, 123-6; KentJP, 195-199; Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (CambB); Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 1910; Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (IntCCom, 1913); Davies, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (CentB, 1910); PeoB, 205, 293-4.
- (440) HastDB, 253; Hunter, *AE*; JCiii, 103-109; KentJP, 199-208.
- (441) SmJerusii, 334; Hunter, *AE* states the case in full detail.
- (443) HunterAE discusses Ezra's work quite fully; HBiv, 131-3 takes an opposite view; for a survey see Cook in CamAncHvi, 167-175.
- (444) HBiv, 131; JCiii, 126-135; KentJP, 209.
- (445) HBiv, 131; KentJP, 209-212; HunterAE gives a detailed account.
- (446) LAI, 309-312; Jessup and Canby *The Short Story* p. 4, calls Ruth "one of the best told and most beautiful stories in all literature." Compare also Albright *The Short Story: Its Principles and Structure*; KentJP, 117; CrIntOT, 249-251; BLOT, 282-4.
- (447) HBiv, 132-4; KentJP, 212-4; SmJerusii, 345, 353, 362-3; MessIsr-Lawgivers, 36-43; BLOT, 259-277.
- (448) LAI, 294-301; PSmyth, *Bible in the Making*, 115-123; MessPrP Hist, 239-247; Moore "Historical Literature" in *Encyc. Bib.* Gray, *Crit.IntrodOT*, chs. 3-6.
- (449) LAI, 301-3; StOTIntrod; LOT, 5; Gray, *Crit.IntrodOT*, 39-51.
- (450) HBiv, 134; KentJP, 239-251; SmJerusii, 361-6.
- (451) HastDB, 415b, 416; KentJP, 252-267.
- (456) SmJerusi, 384-398 traces the gradual operation of the Law and

- increase of high-priestly authority. Compare also ii, 362-3; on the history see CamAncHvi, 4, 19-24, 167-199.
- (457) For a careful, sane study of the problems of Joel see Professor Bewer's *Joel* (IntCCom, 1911); StOTiii, 409-16 offers a fine translation and illuminating critical notes.
- (458) HBiv, 141-2; MessLPr, 289-302; GASmTwelveii, 375-436; Horton's *Joel* (New-CentB) is good; LAI, 316-7.
- (459) SmJerusii, 351, 374n5, 367n2, 393n, 422; HBiv, 143-5; KentJP, 215-223; Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907); Rothstein, *Juden und Samaritaner*, 1908; Thompson, *The Samaritans* (1919); Torrey, *Second Isaiah*, 457, ff.
- (461) HBiv, 72-95; Schmidt, MessPoets, 1911; a capital commentary is G. A. Barton's (BHS, 1911); Genung, *Epic of Inner Life*, and Davidson's *Job* (CambB) are of sterling value; LAI, 321-336. H. W. Robinson's *Cross of Job* and Peake's *Problem of Suffering in the OT*. are excellent as an introduction to the study of Job.
- (462) LAI, 303-308; Curtis, *Chronicles* (IntCCom) is standard; McFadyen MessPPrHist, 270-285 is helpful. Note also his *O.T. Introduction* and Gray *Crit. Introd O. T.*, 87-96. Also note BLOT, 286-301.
- (463) Mahaffy, *Greek Life from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, 1887; SmJerusii, 367-371, espec. 371n; BGH, 207; for apocryphal books see Charles and others, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T. in English*, 1913.
- (464) Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*; SmJerusii, 372-5, 398-408; HBiv, 151-2; HastDB, 20; BGH, 207-9; CamAncHvi, 352-437.
- (465) Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*; SmJerusii, 419-424; HBiv, 190-191; article "Diaspora," in HastDB, extra volume; CamAncHvi, 437-8.
- (466) Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*; SmJerusii, 375-408, 380; HBiv, 152-5; Wade OTH, 488-9; BGH, 209; CamAncHvi, 461-504.
- (467) Mahaffy, *Greek Life*, etc.; E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*.
- (468) SmJerusii, 413, 409; HBiv, 162-7; HastDB, 204; Kent, *Wise Men of Ancient Israel and Their Proverbs*; Genung, *The Hebrew Literature of Wisdom* (1906), 1-87; PCom. 341, ff.
- (469) HBiv, 159-162; Kent, *Wise Men*, etc.; Genung, *Hebr. Lit. Wisdom*, 91-142; Toy *Proverbs* (IntCCom, 1899); Moulton, *Mod. R. Bible*, single vol., 1452-58; LAI, 343-352. Elmslie, *Studies in Life from Jewish Proverbs* is of great homiletical value.
- (470) HBiv, 181-6; Genung, *Hebr. Lit. Wisdom*, 251-279; Moulton, *Mod. R. Bible*, 1458-69; LAI, 352-8; StanDB, "Ecclesiasticus"; Oesterly, *Ecclesiasticus* (CambB), 1912.
- (471) SmJerusii, 409-419; HBiv, 175-7; Genung, *Hebr. Lit. Wisdom*, 199-247; Barton, *Ecclesiastes* (IntCCom, 1908); Genung, *Words of Koheleth*, 1904; Moulton, *Mod. R. Bible*, 1469-75; LAI, 337-343; Williams, *Ecclesiastes* (Camb B), 1922.
- (472) HBiv, 214; McFadyen, *Isaiah*, 160-179; Mitchell, *Zechariah* (IntCCom, 1912), 218-357; MessLPr, 313-9, 323-36; HastDB, 986.
- (473) HBiv, 140-1; LAI, 359-374; StOTv, 22-29, 47; is a fresh and careful study; Schmidt, MessPoets, 213-277; note also Wild GI, 80-83 and BLOT, 391-4.
- (474) SmJerusii, 399, 416, 417, 353; HBiv, 174-5; LAI, 313-6; MessLPr, 339-354; Charles, *Eschatology*, 115-6; Lanchester, *Obadiah and Jonah* (CambB), 1918; Bewer, *Jonah* (ICC), 1912.

- (475) HBiv, 172-4; KentJP, 311-322.
- (476) Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 181 bb.; HBiv, 189-190, 192-193; Wade OTH, 489-90; KentJP, 323-6; SmJerusii, 424-432; JCiii, 251-6; PeoB, 295, 319.
- (477) HBiv, 193; Wade OTH, 490; KentJP, 327-330; BGH, 209-10; SmJerusii, 432-6; JCiii, 257-264.
- (478) HBiv, 189-90; On the "abomination of desolation" see the excellent note on p. 453 of SmJerusii; on the site of the citadel see *ibid.* 447-452 and the references given; RiggsJP (Histor Series Bible Students, 1900), 14-24; for a good historical romance on this period see Ludlow's *Deborah*; Fairweather, *First Maccabees* (CambB), 1908; Oesterly, *First Maccabees* and Moffatt, *Second Maccabees* in *O. T. Apoch.* 1913; Stan DB, 533.
- (479) Conder, *Judas Maccabaeus* HBiv, 200-1; KentJP, 334-6; RiggsJP, 24-28; BGH, 210-11; SmJerusii, 400 ff; JCiii, 267-270 (explains the well-known names).
- (480) HBiv, 210-212; KentJP, 336-340; RiggsJP, 29-33; BGH, 211-214; JCiii, 270-272.
- (481) HBiv, 201-3; KentJP, 331-4; JCiii, 265-7; RiggsJP, 7, 8; Porter, *MessApoc. Writers*; 70-166; Farrar, *Daniel* (ExposB); Bevan, *Daniel* (1892); J. D. Prince, *Daniel* (1899); Kennedy, *Book of Daniel from Christian Standpoint* (1898); LOT, 448-515; LAI, 378, 384-5; McFadyen OTIntrod, 316-331, StOTiii, 33-37; Montgomery, *Book of Daniel* (ICC), 1927; Charles, *Daniel* (NewCentB, 1918); BLOT, 410-419.
- (482) Porter, *MessApoc.W*; RiggsJP, 9; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 1893; *Eschat*, 220-223; DumCom. lxii; JCiii, 328-331.
- (483) HBiv, 212-215; BGH, 214; SmJerusii, 454-5; RiggsJP, 34; JCiii, 272-6.
- (484) SmJerusii, 399; HBiv, 227-8; JCiii, 152-161 must be modified by such authorities as StOTii, 471-482, 39, 40 and Paton, *Esther* (IntCCom); for Tobit and Judith see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseud*; HastDB, 42; Moulton, *Mod. R. Bible*, 1380-2, 369-78, 1557-9; JCiii, 19; DumCom. lv.
- (485) HBiv, 226-230; BGH, 215-220; RiggsJP, 34-52; JCiii, 276-287.
- (486) HBiv, 230; BGH, 220-1; RiggsJP, 53; JCiii, 287-298.
- (487) HBiv, 230-1, 237; BGH, 222-4; SmJerusii, 457; JCiii, 308-317; RiggsJP, 53-68.
- (489) HBiv, 237-9; BGH, 224-5; SmJerusii, 458; RiggsJP, 68-71, 87-96; JCiii, 317-322.
- (490) HBiv, 239; Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, 133-162; StOTV; LAI, 373-4; Wood BL, 164-171; G. A. Smith makes a remarkable presentation of the spiritual values of the psalms in *Legacy of Israel* (1927), 20-26; BLOT, 340-391.
- (491) HBiv, 244-6; BGH, 225-6; SmJerusii, 459-463; JCiii, 323-5; RiggsJP, 97-104, 114-116.
- (492) HBiv, 251-4; Fairweather, *Background of the Gospels*, 1909; HastDB, 719-20, 818, 238-9; RiggsJP, 105-114; Matthews, *Hist NT Times*; *Outline of Christianity*, i, 187-191.
- (493) HBiv, 260-2; JCiii, 225-232; RiggsJP, 77; HastDB, 315-317; for the Letter of Aristaeas see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*; the Greek text is in Swete's *Introd. to OT in Greek*, 1900 and an excellent English translation by Thackeray is in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xv; note also SmJerusii, 440n, 441n, 451n; Encyc.Britii., 494.

- (494) HastDB, 111-113; StanDB, 597-601; Ryle, *The Canon of the OT*, 1895; Woods "OTCanon" in HastDB, vol. iii; Dum. xiii; BLOT, 427-9.
- (495) Fairweather, *Background of Gospels*; HastDB, 832; RiggsJP, 215-228; JCiii, 130-135.
- (496) HBiv, 246-7, 269-70; BGH, 226-7; SmJerusii, 463; RiggsJP, 117-126; JCiii, 325-6.
- (497) HBiv, 270-1; HastDB, 204-5; BGH, 227; Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, 68-100; Dummelow Com. lxx; PCom. 608.
- (498) HBiv, 262; RiggsJP, 77-81, 85, 86; for the text of the Oracles see Charles, *Apoch. and Pseud.* See also *Eschat.*, 207-8.
- (499) HBiv, 262-4; RiggsJP, 11, 82-4; Moulton, *Mod. R. Bible*, one vol., 1021-36, 1646-56; Charles, *Apoch. and Pseud.*; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*; JCiii, 241-244; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon* (CambB), 1909.
- (500) SmJerusii, 535-9; RiggsJP, 222; Porter, *MessApoc. Writers*, 1905; Fairweather, *Background Gospels*; Torrey, "Apocalypse" in *Jewish Encyclop.* i, 669-675; Charles in HastDB. vol. i, 109-110; in *EncycBib.*, vol. i, 213-250, *Eschat.*, 213-20; 260-6, 235-40; Dummelow, Com. lxi-lxiv; Wood BL, 209-212; BLOT, 399.
- (501) HBiv, 271-2; BGH, 228-230; RiggsJP, 131-136; Mathews, *Hist-NTTimes*; Moss, *From Malachi to Matthew*; JCiii, 350-360.
- (502) HBiv, 272-4.
- (504) HBiv, 281-3; BGH, 230-2; RiggsJP, 154-8; JCiii, 360-361.
- (505) RiggsJP, 136-9, 150-1; Dummelow Com. lxiv; Gray gives text and comments in Charles, *Apoch. and Pseud*; Ryle, *Psalms of Solomon* is a good commentary; notice Bewer's remark in BLOT, 394.
- (506) HBiv, 283-4; BGH, 232; RiggsJP, 159-169; Mathews, *Hist NT Times*; JCiii, 365-8.
- (507) HBiv, 284-5; BGH, 232; SmJerusii, 468; RiggsJP, 170-178; JCiii, 368-7.
- (508) HBiv, 293-4; SmJerusii, 469-475; HastDB, 343-4; Mathews, *Hist-NTT*; Moss, *Malachi to Matt.*
- (509) HBv, 39-42; SmJerusii, 478-481; JCiii, 361-5; *The Legacy of Israel* (1928), p. 30.
- (510) BGH, 233; SmJerusii, 481-2; RiggsJP, 179-190.
- (511) HBiv, 294-5; SmJerusii, 482-494; RiggsJP, 191-202.
- (512) HBiv, 300-302; BGH, 233-4; SmJerusii, 499-520; RiggsJP, 200-2; for a ground plan of the Temple see Dummelow Com. chart at end; JCiii, 383-390.
- (513) HBiv, 305-310; BGH, 234-5; read GASmith's great chapter in *Jerusalemii*, 521-555; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope*; Oesterly, *Evolution of the Messianic Idea*.
- (514) HBiv, 295-6; BGH, 234; RiggsJP, 203-214; SmJerusii, 475 and the very valuable note on pp. 475-6.
- (515) HBv, 34; RiggsJP, 232.
- (516) HBv, 34; BGH, 236; RiggsJP, 232-6; Mathews, *NTTimes*.
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- (520) RiggsJP, 241-5; Mathews, *NTT*.
- (522) RiggsJP, 253-259.
- (523) RiggsJP, 260-265.
- (524) RiggsJP, 265-277.

- (525) See Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*; HastDB, 39, 40; Dummelow Com. lxii-iv; RiggsJP, 153; Morfill, *Secrets of Enoch*, 1896.
- (526) The closing pages of JCiii, 390-420 are excellent.
- (527) RiggsJP, 278-80.
- (529) See the references given above under 525 and Charles, *Eschat.*, 323-353.
- (535) RiggsJP, 280-286.
- (532) SmJerusii, 521-555.
- (533) Bevan, *The Legacy of Israel*, 1927, contains careful studies by several authors on this great theme; PeoB, 383-402 gives a fine review by Kennett.

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